How Far Jap Suicide?—Herbert Corey

FREE WORLD

World Oneness

By

Archibald MacLeish

n the Charter:

Henri Bonnet
Herbert V. Evatt
Henry Cassidy
Vincent Sheean
Orson Welles
and others

•

RUSSIA
AND
AMERICA
Max Lerner

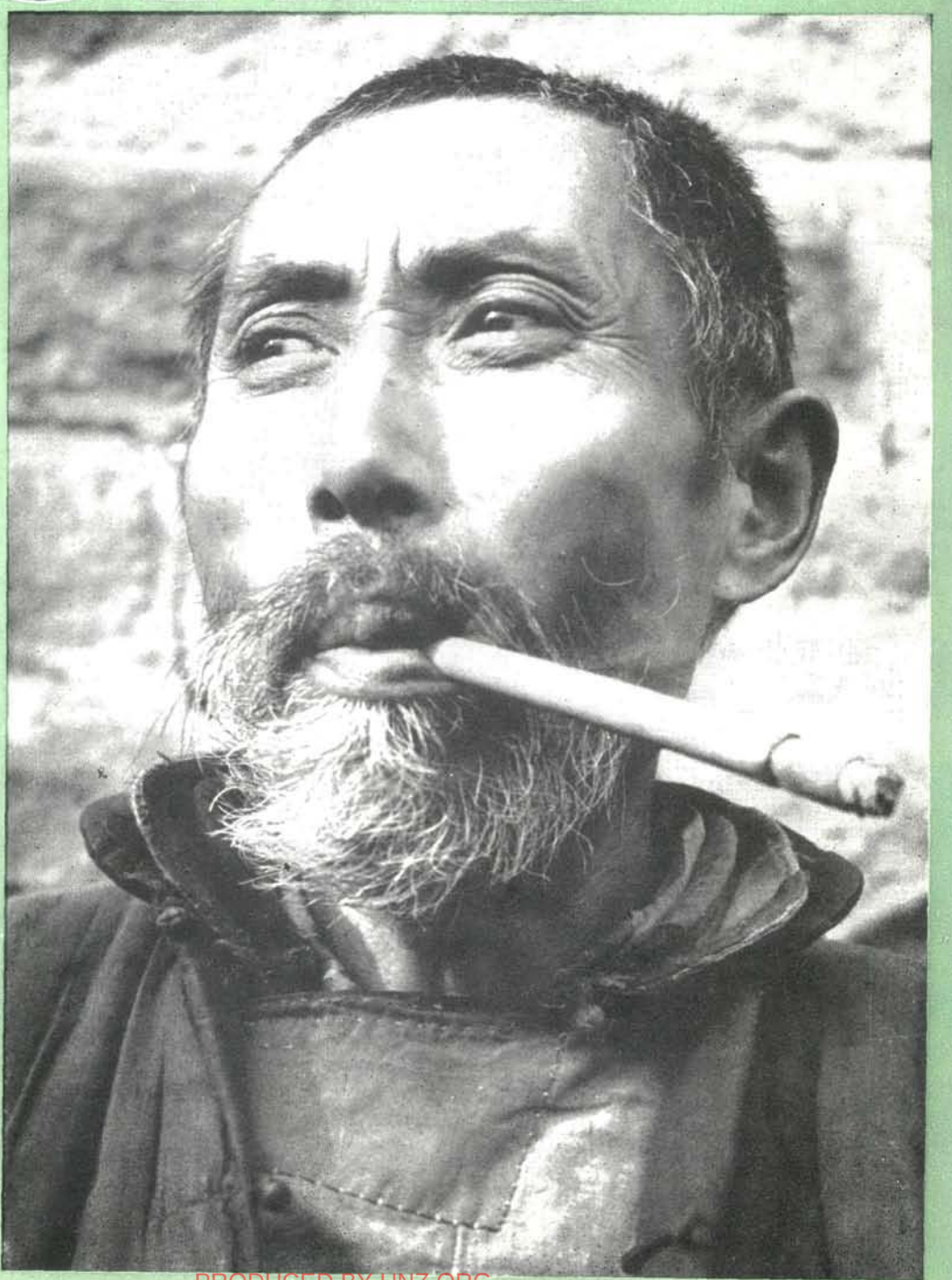
•

RACE HATE
Harry W. Flannery

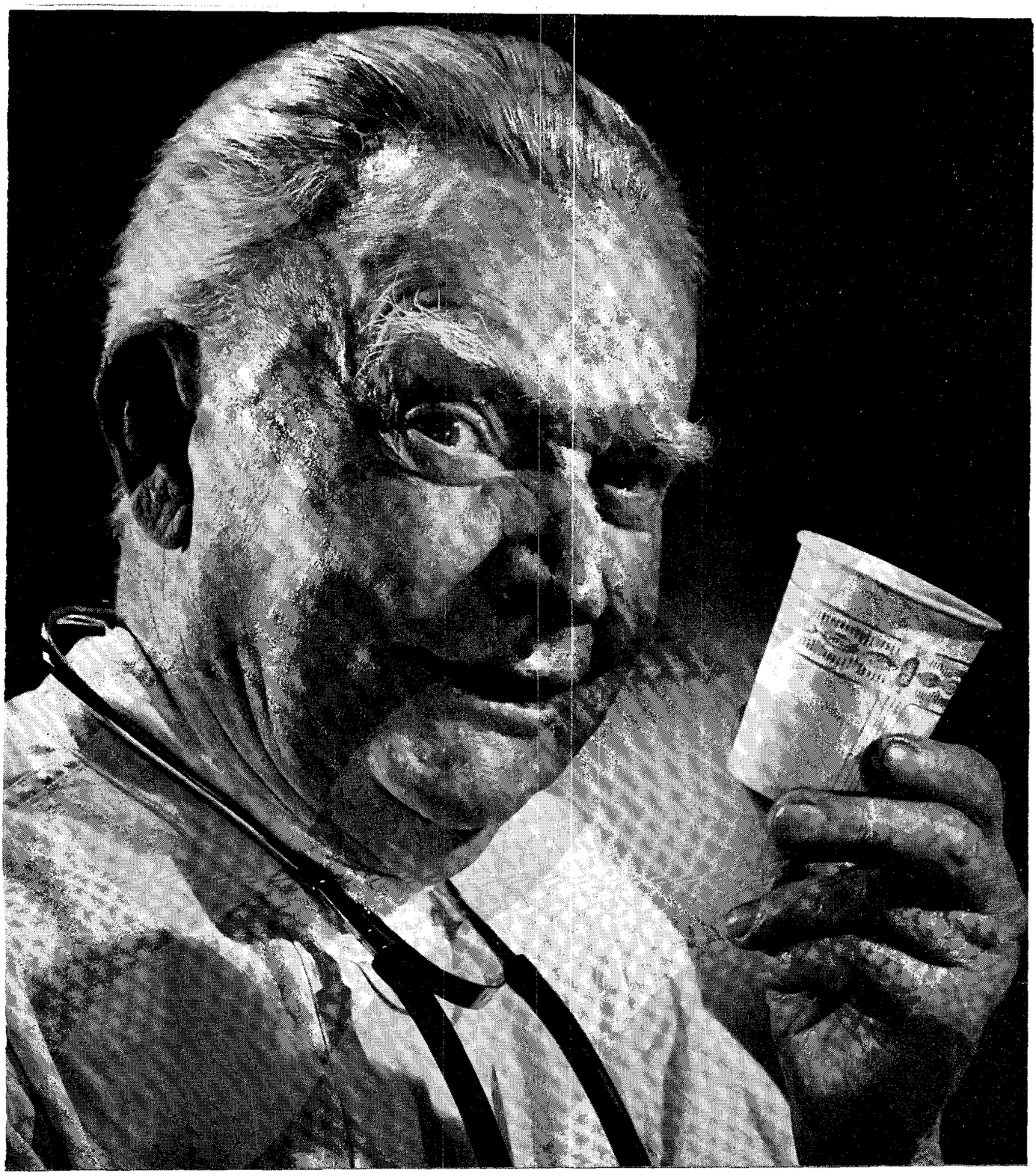
050
v.10
July-Dec
1945

•

The
Common Man
Looks Ahead



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"greatest little 'cold-stoppers' in the world . . . DIXIE CUPS"

Of course Dixie Cups won't *stop* colds once started. But they can help prevent their being passed along to others. A crisp, clean, germ-free Dixie Cup breaks the possible chain of infection resulting from mouth contact where the lips of others have touched.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The State of the World...

THE World Charter at San Francisco will be ratified by the biggest overall majority of any international instrument in history. From unimpeachable sources—consultations of members of different United Nations governments, and of parliamentary and political leaders all over the world — we have learned that if the United States Senate ratifies the Charter by an overwhelming majority, and as promptly as possible, then in more than 40 countries the ratification will be by unanimity.

For the remaining 10 United Nations the majorities will average 80 to 90 per cent. Of the remaining 10 to 20 per cent of the vote in these nations, more than half will be abstentions and only 5 to 8 per cent will be votes against. The approximate number of the legislators of 50 countries called upon to ratify the Charter will be about 10,000. If they were seated in one single room, 9,500 would vote for ratification, 300 would abstain and 200 would oppose it.

Outright opposition by small groups is expected only in the United States, and Canada. In England there might be some opposition, but the ratification itself is an act of the Executive, that is by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. Whoever wins the elections, the new House of Commons would almost unanimously back the act of ratification.

Russia and China will give unanimous ratification. In France the provisional government will have the unanimous backing of the Consultative Assembly.

This remarkable prospect of world unanimity indicates how much progress the idea of international cooperation has made everywhere. This unique world unanimity is due to the fact that most countries, following the example of the United States, have sent bi-partisan and multi-partisan delegations to San Francisco and have thus assured the cooperation of the various political tendencies in their respective countries. If the ratification should encounter unforeseen obstacles in the United States Senate or be unduly delayed, then of course this would considerably weaken the above-mentioned prospects because the United States is considered the cornerstone of the new world organization.

The People Are Always Generous

One can often hear the opinion expressed that the people of America will never agree to renounce one ounce of their own food for some foreign people or Hottentots. Yet the New York *World-Telegram* has recently published the results of a poll organized by Dr. Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion, which asked this question of the American people: "If necessary, would you and your family be willing to eat about one-fifth less than you are now eating in order to send more food to Europe?" The results were as follows:

Yes	70%
No	23%
No opinion	7%

This is the most encouraging public opinion poll that has appeared in a long time. It shows that the American people are backing every progressive move, for the question was formulated in a very blunt fashion. It did not show any of the advantages which international trade, lend-lease and relief will have for the full employment of the American people. It asked a direct question. The answer came overwhelmingly in favor of generosity and helpfulness.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stand On Syria-Lebanon

Many readers have been writing in to find out what our stand is on the Syria-Lebanon question. Here it is:

We consider that the use of the armed repression by General de Gaulle's government was wrong. But we are just as firmly convinced that the agitation in Syria against the French was not dictated only by a democratic desire for independence but by ultra-reactionary Arab agitators and by British colonial agents. Mr. Churchill's brutal statement to France, after the British troops had been given orders to take over in Syria and Lebanon, also enters into the category of things wrong.

We believe that in connection with the Syria-Lebanon problem, the whole relationship of mandated areas should have come up. Whether any one likes it or not, Syria and Lebanon cannot be taken out of the whole colonial world. If Britain and the other mandate-holding powers were ready to give up their mandated areas to the new world organization, we are convinced that the French people in their overwhelming majority, would back such a move. But if unilateral measures should be taken only against France, this of course will only provoke bitterness and anti-British agitation.

Our solution: Put the whole problem into the lap of the United Nations.

Pogroms Against the French?

One of the most shameful statements made by the president of a member state of the United Nations was the following nazi-like proclamation by Mr. Shukri el-Kuwatly, when he declared in the beginning of June: "This generation of Syrians will not tolerate seeing one Frenchman walk through the streets of Damascus."

We do not approve the shootings, but we consider that this proclamation by Mr. Kuwatly is more than the legitimate expression of a temporary dissatisfaction and expresses that savage and violent hatred which unfortunately animates too many of the leaders of the Arab League. The latest in this order of decrees is the announcement that French books were about to be burned in the public places throughout the Levant states. We are afraid that long contact with Vichy authorities and nazi agents has left traces in the mentality of these book burners.

Parliamentarism Survives

There is a frequent outcry that one democratic regime after another is disappearing from the European map. The truth is that in not one single country where a parliamentary regime existed before the war, has it been superceded by a dictatorial, totalitarian, or any other regime departing from the principles of democracy and parliamentarism.

In September 1939 there were free parliamentary institutions in only the following European countries: England, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. In none of these countries is there any serious danger of the parliamentary form of government being changed, or not being reestablished, as soon as elections are held. Elections are scheduled to take place almost immediately after the return of prisoners of war and deportees.

In all other countries (the Soviet Union and its novel and controversial regime set aside) a Parliament did not exist, or merely shielded various dictator cliques.

This survival of parliamentarism in the countries which enjoyed truly democratic regimes before the war, testifies once more to the staying power of democracy.

Synthesis Between East and West?

Throughout the war it became more and more evident that world political life will crystallize around two potent systems: the democracy of the Western world and the communism of the Soviet Union. The solidity of both has been demonstrated under the tremendous strains of the global war. Many people are genuinely worried lest there be no possibility of these two systems cooperating and living together.

The facts related from Prague by Dorothy Thompson seem to bear out an old contention of FREE WORLD—that the peoples of the liberated countries in Europe genuinely aspire to the combination of the advantages that the common man could derive from the amalgamation of the best features of the two main political and economic systems.

The people want economic security. Socialist planned economy appeals to them as a means of eradicating unemployment and providing economic democracy. But they also intensely desire the achievement of political democracy and look to the west for a model.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inexcusable Barbarism

On June 17, the AP reported from Athens that a clash between the National Guards and ELAS irregulars resulted in the death of Aris Velouhiotis, the ELAS irregulars' leader, and of three of his aides. The supreme military commander of northwestern Greece, where the skirmish occurred, announced that the heads of the four guerrillas were placed on exhibition at the town of Trikkala.

We do not profess to know all the antecedents of Velouhiotis. We do know that he was an ELAS chieftain who refused to lay down arms and to abide by the armistice terms arrived at by the Greek Government and the representatives of the EAM and the ELAS. We also know that his stand was repudiated by the EAM and ELAS central committees—and that his armed opposition assumed a subversive character.

We cannot subscribe, however, to the revival of barbarous methods of beheading and of terrorizing the population by a medieval display of the culprits' heads on a public market. This reversal to the worst features of the Metaxas dictatorship is certainly not conducive to the breeding of a sound democracy.

Resistance Movements on the Upswing

Despite the predictions of many newspapermen that the hour of the Resistance movements has passed with liberation, the contrary is true. In France the Resistance movement has won an overwhelming victory in the elections by winning 80 per cent of the seats in the municipal elections. In Belgium, Resistance leader Achille van Acker was the only one who could master a strong support by public opinion and keep the economy of the country going. In Holland the Queen took the unprecedented step of appointing a cabinet composed almost entirely of Resistance leaders under Professor Shermerhorn. In Norway, Resistance labor leader Einar Gerhardsen has formed a government composed of the four major parties and strongly backed by the Resistance movement. In Italy the Badoglio days seem far away. The newly constituted Parri Government is fully representative and has the complete backing of the Resistance movement. Thus the Resistance movements are more alive than ever.

Lesson of S. F. for Australia

Herbert Evatt, Australia's Minister of External Affairs, has won for himself, despite the fact that he represented only a small country, an amazing standing at the San Francisco Conference. In every discussion, be it on the rights of the General Assembly, on the veto power, or on regional agreements, Mr. Evatt made competent and intelligent suggestions. Yet there was one weakness which we often heard mentioned in some quarters of the Conference in connection with Dr. Evatt's democratic feelings and this was the attitude of his government toward immigration. People wondered how Dr. Evatt could put up such a splendid fight for every democratic people and not fight, with utmost vigor, against the almost exclusive restrictions against immigration into Australia.

The immigration policy of the Australian Government not only bars non-whites but also discriminates among the white people according to their origin and "race." These practices certainly have nothing to do with democracy.

FREE WORLD suggests that Dr. Evatt, when he goes back to Australia, take up the fight against the anti-democratic immigration complexes of his country.

REGENCIES OVER EUROPE

by

Max Mandellaub and Frank E. Kent

Out of the ash-heaps of history, monarchical lawyers and politicians have participated in exhuming the almost forgotten device of "regency" in order to save some of the dynasties in Europe.

In order to insure dynastic continuity, the constitutions of the still existing European monarchies contain provisions for measures to be taken for the guardianship of an incapacitated king. These provisions cover only situations arising out of physical or mental disability of the king, or during the king's minority.

However, this time all the regencies, with the exception of that of Bulgaria, were set up not because of situations arising from any of these conditions, but rather because the monarchs involved were politically and morally discredited.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More Monarchies Are Disappearing

The tremendous social upheaval resulting from the present world struggle has brought forth a new republican wave. But realities of international politics — particularly the policies of some of the big Allies — made it impossible for those countries where the people no longer want monarchs, to rid themselves completely of them. Thus the expedient method of regency was used.

The Precarious Italian Regency

In Italy the appointment of Prince Umberto as Lieutenant General of the Realm has been a characteristic compromise attempting to conceal the intention to maintain monarchism in the Appenine peninsula.

But it is highly questionable whether a short period of regency will discourage the republican aspirations of the Italian people. The House of Savoy, having been a partner in Mussolini's political and military adventures, is too closely identified with the genesis and growth of fascism not to be affected by the utter destruction of the axis.

George Pays the Metaxas Debt

In Greece the royal dynasty had little support outside that of the native right-wing guerrillas closely linked to former fascists, and the external forces behind Reginald Leeper, British Ambassador to Greece. Had King George not finally agreed to the regency of Archbishop Damaskinos, he would have created a situation even endangering his own small chances of return.

Tito Versus Peter

King Peter II of Yugoslavia at first refused to recognize a regency for the House of the Karageorgeviches. By this he only provoked an outburst of mass demonstrations in his country. "We want Tito, not the King! Try the King!" were the cries that re-echoed in the streets of Belgrade. Had Peter insisted on refusing a regency compromise, he would by now have lengthened the already long list of crownless kings.

Bulgaria Changed Regents

After the death of King Boris in August, 1943, the crown of Bulgaria went to seven-year-old Simeon. An axis regency council was appointed, composed of Prince Cyril, brother of the late king, former Premier Bogdan Philoff, and Lieutenant-General Nikola Mikhoff. When Moscow declared war on Bulgaria, this gave the signal to the people to turn against their former masters. No Bulgarian republic was proclaimed at the time, but the three pro-nazi regents were seized and, after a short time, tried and executed. The boy-King, Simeon, was left unharmed. A new regency under Professor V. Ganeff and T. Parloff was instituted.

Even Albania Follows the Trend

In the summer of 1944 the Albanian partisans descended from the mountains and a hitherto unknown man became head of Albania's National Liberation army. Thirty-seven-year-old Colonel General Enver Hoxha, a former professor of French, led his 30,000 partisans to victory over the nazis and the fascists, abolished the fascist constitution of June 3, 1939, and drove out the German-appointed regency of the Reverend Anton Harape, a priest who had succeeded in combining his devotion to the Vatican with his subservience to Mussolini and Hitler.

Leopold Heading For Trouble

In Belgium republicanism has been greatly strengthened because of the vicissitudes experienced by the people. King Leopold's attitude during this war could well have resulted in the establishment of a republican regime in Belgium.

So strong was the sentiment against the King after the liberation of Belgium, that he was not automatically reinstated as reigning monarch and his brother Charles was named Regent. While these lines are being written, the King seems to want a showdown. The Resistance groups, who undoubtedly have the support of the overwhelming majority of the Belgian people, do not want, at any price, the return of Leopold. If Leopold does not return, the dynasty in Belgium can be saved by the system of regency. If he does, the next election issue might very well become "Monarchy versus Republic."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE WORLD

A Non-Partisan Magazine
devoted to the
United Nations and Democracy

Published monthly in eight editions

VOLUME X, No. 1 **JULY, 1945**

State of the World 1
Free Speech 7
Frontispiece by Kelen: The World Charter Means Prosperity 10
Editorial: At the Crossroads of Two Worlds . . . . . Louis Dolivet 11

World Organization

On the Threshold of World Oneness . . . . . Archibald MacLeish 13
The League Is Dead—Long Live the Charter! . . . . . Serge Fliegers 17
United Nations Forums:
The Heritage of the Underground 26
Emergence of New Values 28
World Citizenship and Economic Problems 31
Remaining Dangers of Fascism 34
Seeds of Disunity 36

The War Front

"Strike Two" on Hara Kiri . . . . . Herbert Corey 39

The Big Three

Russia and America: A Critical Partnership . . . . . Max Lerner 43
Basic Problems of Big Three Unity . . . . . Norman Angell 47

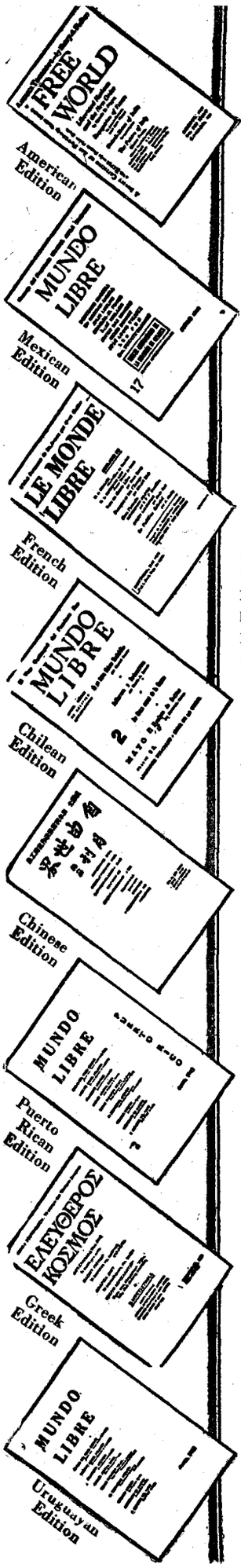
The Political and Social Fronts

American Opinion Poll: Will Fascism Die Out? 51
The Secret Enemy at San Francisco . . . . . Harry W. Flannery 55
The Homeless Return . . . . . Martin Ebon 59
Preparing a Safe Crossing from War to Peace . . . . William H. Davis 63
Picture Feature by Quintanilla:
Is Hitler Dead or Behind a False Beard? 68
Birmingham to Bengal (A Story) . . . . . John Yard 70
Who's Who 75
Books 76

Other drawings by DePauw and Dolbin

FREE WORLD is owned and published monthly by FREE WORLD, INC., 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y. Printed in the United States of America by Charles Francis Press, Inc., New York City. Entered as second class matter September 17, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



International Board

MIGUEL O. DE ALMEIDA • MAX ASCOLI • HENRY A. ATKINSON • PHILIP J. NOEL BAKER • DOROTHY J. BELLANCA • ROBERT BENDINER • EDUARD BENES • HENRI BONNET • CLAUDE G. BOWERS • ESTHER C. BRUNAUER • MANUEL AVILA CAMACHO • BALDOMERO SANIN CANO • GEN. LAZARO CARDENAS • F. J. VAN CAUWELAERT • *VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD* • *BEN M. CHERRINGTON* • MME. CHIANG KAI-SHEK • CHU HSUEH-FAN • JOHN B. CONDLIFFE • MERCER COOK • PERCY E. CORBETT • DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE • JONATHAN DANIELS • TARAKNATH DAS • CHARLES A. DAVILA • JULIUS DEUTSCH • PAULO DUARTE • STEPHEN DUGGAN • ALBERT EINSTEIN • H. V. EVATT • MORDECAI EZEKIEL • CHARLES G. FENWICK • *HON. ADELARD GODBOUT* • FRANK P. GRAHAM • HAROLD K. GUINZBURG • JOHN GUNTHER • MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN • OLAV HINDAHL • BERNARDO IBANEZ • HON. HAROLD L. ICKES • F. CYRIL JAMES • COUNT MICHEL KAROLYI • HENRIK DE KAUFFMANN • HON. DOROTHY KENYON • PIERRE KRIER • GUILLERMO LABARCA • FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA • HENRI LAUGIER • FRANCISCO PEREZ LEIROS • MAX LERNER • LI YU YING • LIN YUTANG • ENRIQUE S. DE LOZADA • ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH • THOMAS MANN • J. D. G. MEDLEY • PIERRE MENDES FRANCE • EDUARD MONTPETIT • HUGH MOORE • GUNNAR MYRDAL • REINHOLD NIEBUHR • FERNANDO ORTIZ • A. OSSORIO Y GALLARDO • ISABEL DE PALENCIA • RALPH BARTON PERRY • STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH • WALTER P. REUTHER • SYNGMAN RHEE • JUAN ANTONIO RIOS • PAUL RIVET • F. R. SCOTT • COUNT CARLO SFORZA • T. V. SOONG • JAN STANCZYK • CLARENCE K. STREIT • RAYMOND GRAM SWING • ALBERTO TARCHIANI • DOROTHY THOMPSON • VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO • RUSTEM VAMBERY • EDUARDO VILLASENOR • *WALTER WANGER* • *WILLIAM W. WAYMACK* • *MARY E. WOOLLEY* • *QUINCY* WRIGHT • STANLEY YOUNG.

International Editor
LOUIS DOLIVET

Managing Editor
LAURA VITRAY

Editorial Writers
LIN YUTANG ORSON WELLES
WILLIAM L. SHIRER BURNET HERSHEY NORMAN ANGELL

International Editorial Board

SIR NORMAN ANGELL
H. FERNANDEZ ARTUCIO
PIERRE-COT
FREDA KIRCHWEY
LOUIS LIPSKY
CHIH MENG
WALTER MILLIS
EDGAR A. MOWRER
MILOS SAFRANEK
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO
BASIL VLAVIANOS
LUCIEN VOGEL
WOUSAOFONG

Treasurer
F. C. McKEE

Business Manager
GEORGE O'NEIL

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Free Speech

Amending the Charter

The application of the veto in Charter amendment procedure would be a tragic error from all standpoints, including that of ratification in the U. S. A. Without the whole-hearted support of the American people the new League may never be born. Perfection is not demanded, but there is this one hard fact of Nature that must be reckoned with—that it is quite impossible for us Americans to work up enthusiasm for a Charter which, in effect, empowers any one of the five individuals to hold out against the whole world in the matter of Charter amendment. With all due respect for the experts at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, we hold that since no one is infallible, any Article of Confederation, Constitution, Covenant or Charter, constructed by mortals, must be reasonably amendable, if it is to be workable, if it is to endure.

If our Constitution *had not* carried a liberal provision for amendment, it would probably have failed of adoption in 1788. If the Covenant, in 1920, *had* carried a liberal provision for amendment in place of the veto provided in Article 26, Woodrow Wilson could have, and no doubt would have repeated Washington's effective argument; then the treaty would have been ratified; the U. S. A. would now be in the League; and if you can accept the theory of the League defenders and of our State Department, you must believe that there would have been no World War II.

Wilmington, Delaware. W. M. WHITTEN.

• • •

Time to "Pool Brains"

Like all others who are interested in world peace I realize it's time to "pool brains." If we fail to solve the postwar employment problem and the labor issue as well we are in for failure. I happen to be by trade a construction and operation engineer of public service, and I can see that the American people from every walk of life must come forward and help drive the extra props that are going to be needed if we keep the roof from falling in. My viewpoint on this question of postwar employment is that the impossible is possible. However, it seems to me that all are talking and no one seems to be able to submit a plan to take care of all who want to work except Henry A. Wallace. We need more thought and plans and less talk.

Bishop, Texas. W. J. HAMMONS.

A Private Discusses German Guilt

I seem to arrive sort of late with my answer to your April poll—though not too late from the point of view of my many fellow soldiers who are still suffering at this hospital from wounds received in Germany by Germans.

In my opinion the German people should be blamed *collectively* for having subscribed to a philosophy that elevated indiscriminate cruelties, tortures, starvation and planned murder to a religion; *individually* for having followed and executed cheerfully those satanical orders, and for executing them in spite of the moral implications resulting from their inhuman behavior. They should be blamed *perpetually*—there should be erected great permanent memorials by the United Nations and by those nationals who paid the heaviest toll in such "suitable" places, like Dachau, Oranienburg, Lidice, Maideneck, Buchenwald so as to remind all German citizens that they belonged to the régime guilty of this outrage.

I propose to extend to all civilians of all nations the order of non-fraternization proclaimed by General Eisenhower as the most effective as well as forceful method to convince the Teutonic mind that they have irrevocably offended the consciousness of the whole civilized world. Otherwise a too gentle, sentimental attitude will make this whole effort against German fascism in vain.

Paris, France. PVT. PETER FINGESTEN.

• • •

From a G.I. in Alaska

The news of the President's death came to us here in this small bit of flat ground nestled in the mountains with a peculiar effect over and above the worldwide sadness we all felt—it seemed as if it were only a cruel joke, for how could those few words on the radio have been real? But of course we all soon began to realize how the thing we all knew was the possibility had become the reality.

Part of the job here is to talk to men who want to take correspondence courses through the U. S. Armed Forces Institute. A number of them are the Alaskan natives—Indians and Eskimos—which we have here, as soldiers, mixed right in the organization with the whites. They are almost invariably unsure of speech, which makes it doubly hard to be sure you aren't "pushing" them when you select the course you think is what they want—and still, they want to learn and are eager.

APO, c/o Postmaster, Seattle, Washington. CPL. MARTIN D. LEWIS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Representatives

Our own American Congress, the British Parliament and the Russian Soviets all use democratic methods (inside their own borders) in electing Representatives by plurality votes—and in deciding issues according to two-thirds or majority votes, not unanimity, of such elected officials. Then why not use the same method internationally in deciding all issues, such as frontiers, punishing aggressor nations, and free use of all waterways, such as the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, by all nations?

It would not be wisdom, however, to allow every nation to send representatives to a World Congress or Parliament in proportion to total population, as American states do to our Congress, as this would allow ignorant, superstitious millions in Asia, Africa and Oceania to outvote the educated or literate minorities in those and other countries. At some time in the far distant future we may have an international naturalization test in literacy, in their own language, and a few other subjects—similar to our own Naturalization Test for immigrants to qualify them for voting citizens—applied to all peoples, impartially, by a United Nations Committee, to qualify voters for electing representatives to a world congress.

In the meantime it would be no more undemocratic than our own Naturalization Test if the number or voting power of representatives from all nations to such a world parliament were apportioned according to the percentage of literacy among the peoples of all nations—which figures are more or less roughly known. This would greatly stimulate education in all backward countries, to get more representation.

San Francisco, California. DAVID S. FELTER.

• • •

Golden Rule and Democracy

Modern civilization is like the Tower of Babel. Not only do we speak different languages but our conceptions of important words differ. Outstanding example is "democracy." Your article "Against Democracy?" under "Free Speech" is an example. The writer confuses "democracy" with "republic," a form of representative government, which is the best medium in which democracy thrives. However, a constitutional monarchy or a benevolent dictatorship could be "democratic" if they served the people as a whole.

So, just what is democracy? Well, I believe the enemy of democracy has provided the answer. Its enemy and antithesis is nazi-fascism, which came *very near* to making the world *unsafe* for righteousness, justice and liberty; therefore unsafe for democracy in its true meaning.

The Golden Rule is the basic law for individual behavior. Democracy is the practical application of the Golden Rule in the group life of mankind, within the group toward each other and without the group toward all other groups—from family to nation.

Cazadero, California. E. TURK.

On Non-Fraternization

Of the numerous doubtful policies adopted by our military government in occupied territories, the present non-fraternization order in Germany deserves full investigation. It was quite a shock to us here when we were told to regard the slave laborers as enemy aliens until they were cleared by army. We in the front-line battalions have yet, even now, to see one Pole, or Russian, who has been cleared by army and we've come in contact with thousands. In plain words, we are subject to penalties ranging from a minimum of a $65-dollar fine to a maximum of five years imprisonment and a dishonorable discharge for speaking to these people or for giving them cigarettes.

But this is not all. Having trouble with these futile laws, "the powers that be" have given the German police in this particular town power to arrest any civilian (slave laborers included) caught speaking or fraternizing with an American soldier. Being in the division that made the link with the Russians and having spoken to Russian soldiers, we realize the gravity of this situation.

When we were driving through Germany there were many obvious reasons to avoid contact with all civilians, but this is no longer necessary. Still the same orders prevail. No doubt these conditions are not common where AMG has been set up, but still many thousands are under the jurisdiction of front-line commanders. With conditions as they are in Germany today, a strict government must be adopted if peace and order are to be maintained. But certainly our army is not taking the right course with its non-fraternization policy.

Eichstadt, Germany. PFC. ROBERT L. GORDIER.

• • •

A Frenchman Corrects Himself

A few days lived in France force one to revise many opinions acquired abroad, which because they were formed at a distance were wrong through being oversimplified. This is true of what I wrote about Charles Peignot in FREE WORLD for February 1942. I said: "After the collapse of France he became a *subscriber* to the Vichy collaborationist policy."

Well, I would say now that though Charles Peignot believed, in June 1940, as millions of other Frenchmen did, that the request for an armistice made by Maréchal Pétain to the Germans was the only possible way out, he later understood after the Montoire meeting the impasse to which a policy of collaboration had led. He thereafter reduced his own collaboration with the victors to the strict minimum necessary to keep his factory going and thus prevent the deportation of his workers to Germany. Moreover he was able to render notable individual service to several persons who were in danger.

For my own part it is a matter of loyalty to correct a judgment which, too concise in its form, did injustice to the interested party in not taking into account a later development of his thought and of his acts.

Paris, France. LUCIEN VOGEL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

World Improvement

It was my privilege to spend forty years in the field of public education. It was actually true that the hundreds and thousands of youth could and did learn almost anything set before them—if well taught. We have proved our amazing ability to learn in World War II the things we needed to know and the skills needed to overcome the enemy. Russia, Great Britain and the United States all did a superb job of learning. It was learn or die. We chose to learn. It should be remarked here also that we were all greatly enlightened and helped in our understanding of the forces operating in our world by those facts and truths which our correspondents went out and learned in the four corners of the earth.

If Hitler and the Japs could do such a complete job in making savages and beasts of their peoples, surely the rest of the world with such vast resources can make decent, honest, upright and intelligent citizens for the new world yet to be.

We have generally taught individualism in our world but have given scant attention to cooperation. For the first time in the world's history we are really sitting down together to try to solve world problems in a good way and on a high level. For this task our residue of intelligence and understanding, ideals and realism, good will and nobility of purpose seem meager enough.

If our world is not to run amok once more and is to find its way to serve "free men in a free world," then we must come to know that truth which can make us free. The fact is that youth is learning a vast deal of tradition—good, bad and indifferent—from homes, business and society. Sadly enough, some of it is selfishness, snobbery, dishonesty, racial and class prejudices and ways of exploiting their fellow-man. Much of this tradition is good and of great value. Unsocial tradition makes real education and world improvement very difficult.

But, the biggest fact in nature and human nature is to be found in the infinite possibilities of growth. If properly taught, youth would delight in helping solve such insistent problems as ignorance, selfishness, dishonesty, prejudices, poverty and the way to integrity, health, cooperation, peace, security, full employment, full production and distribution, and friendly human relations among men. Youth needs a great cause to kindle it.

We have conquered illiteracy but we have not conquered ignorance. The uninformed mind falls a ready victim to an easy credulity or to insidious propaganda. The greatest educational and social need across our world today is an informed and understanding adult mind. If world democracy is to be realized, a whole body of democratic ideals and tradition must be built up in people.

Elementary, high school, university, liberal arts, technical and vocational education need to be multiplied several fold. Local and universal education, then, of youth and adults; the setting up of world education plans and the founding of an international institution of culture all become foundation stones in a world struggling toward peace and security.

Smithport, Pennsylvania. JOSEPH G. MASTERS.

Replies to This Month's Poll

I believe that the defeat of Germany *will not* cause fascist ideas to die out throughout other countries of the world. The overcoming of force by superior force, violence by greater violence, fits the fascist book. Fascist ideas will find fertile ground wherever a people finds itself economically insecure or insolvent, particularly through dependence on raw materials or markets under the responsible control of other peoples. They may be expected to die out when a world community is developed which permits the achievement of an adequate standard of living and free cultural development to all component peoples.

Concord, New Hampshire. EDWARD RAMBERG.

● ● ●

The defeat of Germany does not mean the end of fascist ideas. Fanaticism instilled in a child and grown to maturity in the adult is not destroyed by punishment or changed by argument. Germany has been defeated but not conquered. Its ideology will rise again.

Winter Park, Florida. REV. J. SPENCER VOORHEES.

● ● ●

I do not believe that fascist ideas will die because of German defeat. Ideas, good and bad, have longevity and flexibility. It may not be stylish to parade fascist concepts during the next decade or two in the Western world at least, but there have always been people who have not given a hoot about style.

The greater part of the world is still ruled by autocratic governments. Democracy so far has had a short career; at times, brilliant, at times, spotty. But it still has the Herculean job of proving to the non-democratic peoples that its way of life is the best way of life. We have knocked out the nazi-fascist dictators; by that success we have made their theories and dogmas look sick. But the sick do not always die; most recover to thrive and deliver a mighty punch again.

Prosperity is the antidote to fascist ideas. Hunger, unemployment, hopelessness are its generators. Can we say we have the collective wisdom now to crush the seeds from which fascist ideas grow?

Brooklyn, New York. NATHAN KOBRIN.

● ● ●

Though we have defeated Germany, fascism is very much alive in Spain and Argentina. Despite our victory in Europe the seed of fascism is scattered all over Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

And in our own United States there is a vociferous group right now. I do not include among these the isolationists. Only a healthy and intelligent democracy can eliminate fascism.

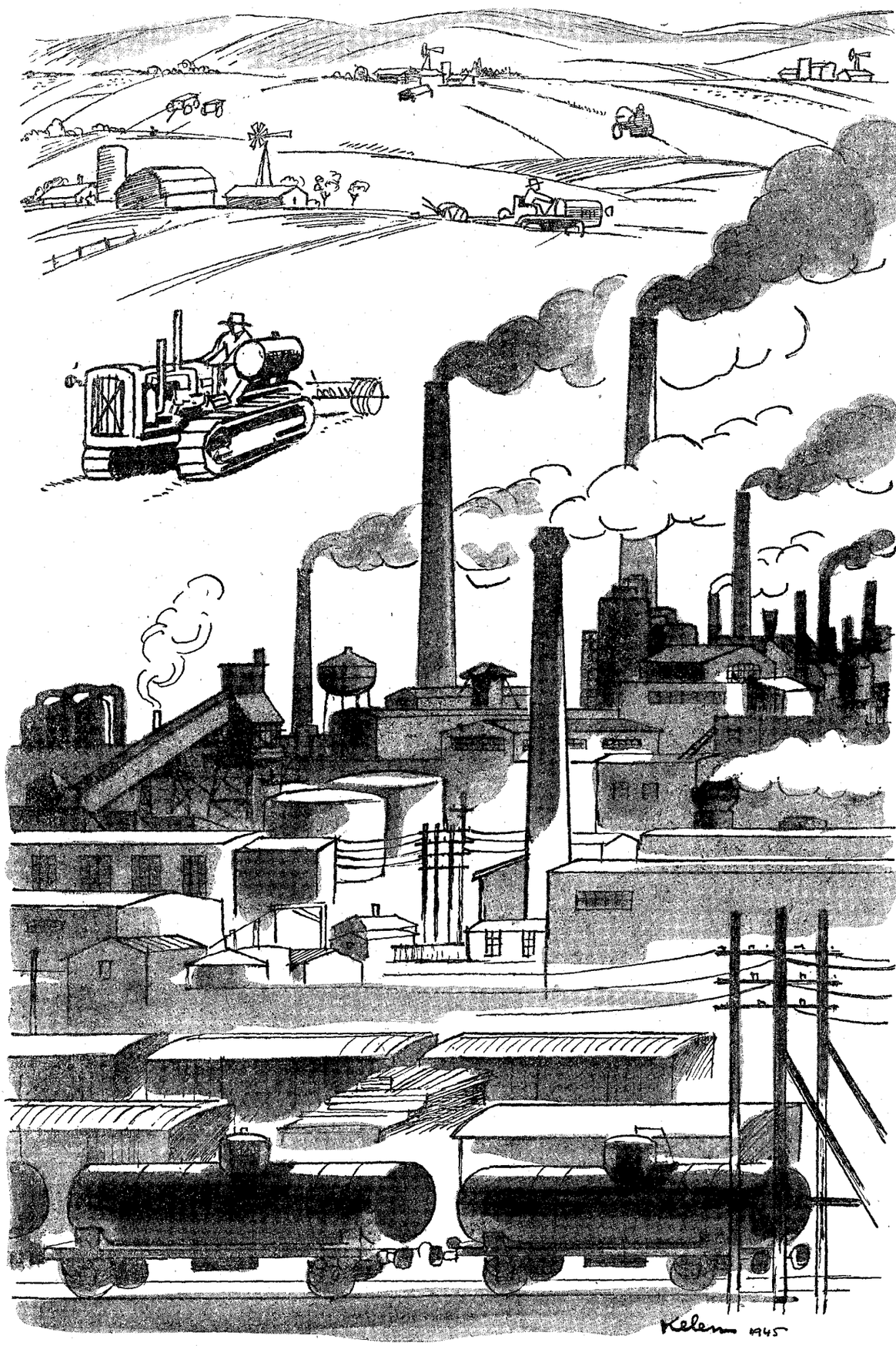
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. HARRY BRICK.

● ● ●

The desire to dominate and exploit weaker peoples exists in too many individuals for the defeat of Germany to wipe it out and with it fascist ideas. Many will think they will succeed where Hitler failed by not making his mistakes.

Dodge City, Kansas. MRS. CLAUDE MAIN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The World Charter means prosperity for American farmers and factory workers

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the Crossroads of Two Worlds

FROM the moment the San Francisco Charter is ratified by the fifty United Nations, any government or citizen of a member state professing discrimination on the grounds of "race, sex, language or religion" will be violating not only the constitutional principles of his country, but also essential provisions of the world Charter. From that moment on, aggression against human rights will no longer be a matter of concern merely to the respective nations, but will enter the sphere of the vital interests of the world community.

Of course, if the new Charter shall simply remain a piece of paper, then the various governments could, in order to justify their eventual anti-democratic policies, invoke Paragraph 7, Article II of the Charter, which reads as follows:

> "Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter . . ."

However, if the governments of the United Nations should want to play on words and take refuge in this statement to justify their policies, then their lawyers will also be able to find loopholes for other violations of the Charter in the economic, the security or any other field. And then we might as well make a museum piece of the San Francisco Charter at once, forget the whole thing, and prepare for World War III.

During the next few months we will learn definitely how much progress has really been made by ideas of internationalism and the oneness of humanity. In the course of debates on the ratification of the United Nations Charter in the various parliaments, we will be able to see much more clearly not only the changes in international attitudes, but also the modifications this war has brought about in the internal philosophies of the governments. For this Charter is entirely different from any one of the traditional international treaties concerned only with relationships between sovereign governments. It is a new political, economic and moral credo. Nothing illustrates more dramatically than the contents of the Charter how much international public opinion has left behind conventional concepts of sovereignty, and has asked the governments represented at San Francisco to go to the very roots of war.

During this war larger and larger sectors of the public have become convinced that these roots lie not only in the aggressiveness of certain nations, but also in such political systems as fascism, and that, if tolerated, they will sooner or later lead to external aggression. That is why the Charter of the new world organization insists so

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strongly not only on security provisions but on economic cooperation and on the respect of human rights.

The great merit of the Charter lies precisely in the fact that the statesmen at San Francisco broke with the whole tradition of legalistic documents and established an instrument dealing with those political and social phenomena which make for war or peace.

The next battle which every world-minded and democratic man or woman will have to wage in each one of the United Nations will be for swift and complete ratification of the Charter as it stands. But this alone will not be sufficient. Behind ratification looms the much larger battle for global application of all the principles of the Charter. The tide sweeping public opinion is so strong that almost no legislator will want to put down on the record of history his negative vote against the new world organization.

The opponents of the philosophy of the Charter will seek to render it ineffectual by a more subtle method, that of continuing the old practices which are in flagrant opposition to the new spirit of the Charter. We already have such an example in Argentina. Latest reports from there indicate that the admission of the Peron government into the new organization, far from exerting a liberalizing effect has increased the authoritarian trend.

The United Nations must try to rid themselves as soon as possible of any fascistic methods and habits. Otherwise the new world organization must suffer from deadly internal contradictions even before it begins to function.

Once this indispensable task is fulfilled, every one of the United Nations will have to adapt its whole thinking to the new principles laid down at San Francisco. Many countries that have not as yet completely democratic constitutions will have to make the necessary modifications in order to adapt their internal structure to the new organization. Even the most democratic constitutions will need a new interpretation in order to comply effectively with the requirements of a world that has recognized the inter-dependence of its various parts.

National constitutions do not impose a duty upon their governments to endeavor to preserve the peace, to further economic cooperation, to help raise living standards throughout the world, to concern themselves with the welfare of colonial areas that do not belong to them, or to fight to establish the human rights of peoples in every land. But the Charter of the United Nations does make it a duty for every member state to fight for those principles. The Charter does establish such purposes as peace and security, friendly relations, and "cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character."

The United Nations are at the crossroads of two worlds—the old one of war and misery, the new one of peace and prosperity.

LOUIS DOLIVET

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On The Threshold Of

WORLD ONENESS

By

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

THERE are moments in the life of a people, as there are moments in the life of a man, when it is necessary to reread the past in order to spell out the meaning of the present and to imagine what the future holds. This is such a moment in the life of the people of the United States. We have come to the end of one period of our history. We stand at the beginning of another.

We have come to the end, or within sight of the end, of a thirty-year period of destructive and brutal wars and brutal and destructive economic instability. We stand at the beginning of a period of which one thing is known, whatever else is unknown—that the pattern of the thirty years before cannot be repeated if the civilization we have inherited is to survive. Not as a matter of election, not as a matter of choice, but as a matter of inescapable necessity, we must secure ourselves from the two connected evils which have destroyed between them in the past thirty years two generations of young men and millions upon millions of human beings with their cities, their productive wealth, their works of art, the fertility of their land and the creative promise of their lives—to say nothing of the inheritance of moral tradition and spiritual perception which generations of peaceful men accumulate and transmit and which wars destroy and poverty devours.

Whatever else is uncertain, this is certain—that the future must be different from the past; that we must act to make it different.

The Conference of United Nations at San Francisco presented one tremendous question to the world. It was not a question of procedure, voting or other. It was not a question of form or a question of method. It was the fundamental question of our time—the question whether the peoples of the world are capable of making the conduct of life on this planet correspond to the facts of life on this planet.

People who like to think of themselves as realists, as practical men and women who know what's what, what always has been what, are inclined to talk politely but skeptically about the Conference as an attempt, foredoomed to failure, to change the realities of the world by treaty, by agreement between governments. The truth is precisely contrary. The Conference at San Francisco was actually an attempt to change the agreements between governments, the agreements between peoples, to reflect the realities of the world.

San Francisco, in other words, is not an effort to *create* a new world—a new and indivisible world. The new and indivisible world exists. It exists regardless of San Francisco. The job at San Francisco was to see that it was there.

WHAT is wrong with our time is not the fact that the peoples of the world are disunited. What is wrong is the fact that they are united and try to act as though they weren't.

Sophisticated people laughed at Wendell Willkie for discovering that the world was one. But it was true. And it was truly a discovery, as anything is a discovery which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a man sees when those around him do not see it. America was here before Columbus, what was new was the fact that Columbus made his contemporaries believe that America was here.

Practical people, hard-headed people scoffed at the great and beloved President whose greatness most of them could not believe until their own shocked grief had taught them to believe it. Practical people scoffed at President Roosevelt when he talked of freedom *everywhere* in the world. But freedom anywhere *means* freedom everywhere. Millions of dead and mutilated men have taught all but the blindest of the blind.

The world has been one world for many years now—one in the sense that any whole and integrated thing is one—one as anything is one which cannot live divided—whose members cannot live unto themselves—whose parts are incomplete and insecure and incapable of life without the others. John Donne knew three hundred years ago that no man is an island complete unto himself.

We know, or ought to know, that no nation is an island complete unto itself—no continent, no sphere of influence, no hemisphere. We know, or ought to know by now, for we have paid enough to know it, that the nations and the peoples of this modern world are combined together by their needs; their interchange; their buying and their selling; their talk back and forth over the invisible vibrations of the universe; their manufacture of articles here from ores there—from fibres, metals, dyes of far-off origins. They depend on each other for the newest knowledge, the latest advance in the age-old human struggle to find out, to decipher the riddles, to arrive at the answers. They exchange with each other the songs, the tunes, the poems, the images, in which their understanding of the earth is spoken, in which their observation of man and his mystery is set down, in which they tell each other what they have seen as the wind changes, or as a tree stirs, or as a man or a woman dies in a home at nightfall.

The nations and the peoples of the world are so combined together in this intricate and rich and dangerous life that no one of them any more can live without the other, that violence in one nation is violence everywhere, that beastliness and cruelty and inhumanity in one nation kills and destroys and violates throughout the entire earth.

WE know this. We have known it for a long time, but we do not act as though we knew it. Our failure to act is accompanied by an unwillingness to know what we do know, an inability to face the facts and to make our lives conform to them. We have a sentimental and childish trick of blinding our eyes to the facts by pretending that we are realistic and hard-boiled and practical when we deny them. We refer to those who do see them as idealists or fools or poets or something worse if there is worse. Yet out of this refusal to face the facts, out of these failures of courage and will and intelligence, the wars have come which have twice murdered our millions of young men—and now the old too, and the women and children. These wars have robbed the world of its wealth and its skill and its labor and its happiness and of two succeeding generations of young men, the flower of two generations.

It is a high price to pay for the privilege of pretending that what we see isn't there and that we are a smart, hard-headed practical human race for not seeing it. It is a high price to pay for the pleasure of deluding ourselves with lies dressed up as smartness. It is a high price to pay and we in this nation are determined never to pay it again if we can help it.

And we can help it. We began to help it at San Francisco. We can help it if we are willing at long last to face the facts and to act on them.

The job our generation has to do if we really mean that we want peace, that we hate war—the job our generation has to do is the job of making the social and political structure of human society correspond to the facts about human society. We do not need to change reality. We need to change the institutions to fit reality. We do not need to concoct a utopia. We need to devise a sensible workable structure fit for the world as it is—not as it isn't.

Our present international, political and social structure is built on an ancient, shadowing, far-off dream as unreal and in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

substantial as those landscapes of sunset clouds which seem to support the minarets and towers. It is built on an inherited memory of what the world once was, or what we think it was, a memory as romantic and antiquated as the chivalrous tales of Walter Scott on which the old American South constructed the image of the world which brought the South to ruin.

ONCE, at the depth perhaps of the Middle Ages, the nations of the world were self-contained, or more or less so. Once, in Homer's Aegean the cities supposedly lived to themselves, apart from the wandering tribes on the steppes.

There was even a time, back before history, when a man was alone, or a man and a woman. The memory of man is a strange thing. It drags itself out of backward time reluctantly, like a frightened child in the dark, holding to what it has touched, not letting go of it. The memory of a time of separated nations, of a time in which the world beyond the frontiers of the nation in which a man was born was a void, a strangeness, something of no concern, something a man could accept or reject—know or forget about—that memory holds hard to our minds. It enchants us. It enchants us so that we pretend its enchantment is true and build our institutions upon it; trust our lives and our son's lives to its reality; cry out astonished and shocked and hurt when it fails us.

I do not think the enchantment can last much longer. And not because we have learned the lesson at long last, having been taught it so often, but for a different reason. A generation of young men have seen for themselves, with their own eyes—their physical eyes—that the walls between the nations are not walls, that the world is as real beyond those walls as within them, that this world is a whole, is one thing, is together.

If you wish to hear the simplest and the clearest exposition of the oneness of this world, talk to the American soldier, the American sailor, the merchant seaman, the pilot and the bombardier. Talk to the soldier who after six months of fighting in Germany still has in his pocket some stray Belgian francs and French notes and English shillings and strange bills acquired in North Africa. To him Europe today is a continent without frontiers. The American jeep crosses from France into Luxembourg, from Luxembourg into Belgium, from Belgium into Holland, and from Holland into remnant Germany without pausing for any formality of customs examination. Its one passport is the fact that like the thundering guns it is pointed at the land of the Herrenvolk.

THE essential oneness of the world is taken for granted by our seamen and airmen. Their lives and their deaths are based upon it. Where affluent travelers once went in small, protected and exclusive groups our young men now go at peril of their lives. Planes have carried them in millions to half the lands that once were only colored pages in the geography books. When this war is finally over, every part of America will be filled with men, and women, who will have fought and lived in a world in which the PX card drawn in London is still good for cigarettes and toothpaste and candy bars and magazines in a village where even the smallest children speak Flemish. They will remember the streets of Karachi or Casablanca as naturally as they know the streets and the bandstand in the park at home.

These are already citizens of one world. Today they are homesick for this country. But tomorrow they will be at home. And then after they have said, as all travelers must say, that they never want to go anywhere again, they will begin to ask what the statesmen who represented them did in their absence. They will want to know whether the statesmen have learned what they have learned, and if so what they have done with that learning.

And it is not only the people in our own armed services who will ask these questions. There will also be men in the armed services of many other countries, who have had very similar indoctrination, the hardest and cruelest indoctrination, into the battle courses of geography. We know on what vast frontiers the Russian and the British soldiers fought. We know that New Zealanders and men from Brazil were fighting in Italy, Canadians in Holland and Germany, South Africans in Burma, and so on, men of the United Nations fighting wherever in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the world United Nations men are needed.

Our men have found out for themselves that the world today is a single entity; that what happens today on the crumbling fringes of Japan or Germany affects us, here at home, and that what happens here has consequences there; that what harms in one place matters in another.

It will be difficult when these men go home to the countries they come from, to the nations they love and belong to, that belong to them. It will be difficult to persuade them that the old inherited dream of the islands complete unto themselves is anything more than a dream, that it is a foundation firm enough for the political and social and economic structures of a responsible, an adult world. It will be difficult to explain also if we on our part, we who stayed at home, have not begun the great labor of adaptation of institutions to realities which must be done.

SOONER or later all reasonable men will see that the wars and the worldwide miseries and the epidemics that carry off whole populations or weaken them and so destroy their work, the collapse of commerce and the sickness of currency and the contagions of worldwide unemployment, are consequences and not causes. Sooner or later men will see, and our returning soldiers may see it sooner and not later; sooner or later men will see that all these ills and consequences of the maladjustment of institutions which *can be changed,* should be changed.

If nations are really parts, one of another and of one whole, then they should deal with each other as companions in a common task. They should meet not only separately, two by two, or three or four together, but also as a great community of nations, a world community engaging in world tasks of world concern and interest and importance. The form of their communication with each other should reflect the actuality of their relations to each other.

If there are world tasks there should be world collaboration in those tasks. If there are world ills there should be world resistance to such ills. If there are hopes common to mankind there should be methods as extensive as mankind to bring the hopes to pass. Whatever the task, whatever the danger, whatever the goal, the institutions established by the nations should be equal to the labor of the nations, the work they have to do.

This was the task before the Conference at San Francisco. And this remains our task. This, and not the fabrication of utopia, not the designing of some fantastic "superstate"—not any of the wild improbable labors which some men have imagined.

The Conference has already succeeded in establishing an international organization which will permit the nations of the world to deal on a worldwide basis with problems which cannot be solved on any other basis. No more realistic or sensible or necessary labor was ever undertaken by any meeting in the history of mankind.

OUR task at San Francisco was simply to bring all of the United Nations together in permanent association, not to create some sort of utopia. We kept our eyes on the real task, we refused to permit ourselves to be distracted from our attention to that task by cries that this or that detail was not yet perfect. We made up our minds to begin and not to defer our beginning until every objection was satisfied. Above all, we were determined that no man nor group of men nor special interest shall again cheat us of our hope by sowing hate or fear or whispering suspicion. If we will keep our eyes upon the task that must be done and do it, we can begin the construction of the institutions necessary to a peaceful world.

I think the people of America intend that peace shall be established if it lies within their power to have peace. I think it does lie in their power. I think that nothing, this time, will deter them from the work they have to do.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The League Is Dead— Long Live The Charter!

Placing the Charter of the United Nations Organization side-by-side with the old League Covenant, this article compares their strengths and weaknesses, shows why the Charter offers a better basis for hope of world peace. In this important comparative study, Mr. Fliegers had the close cooperation of Max Mandellaub and other writers on international affairs.

By

SERGE FLIEGERS

WITH the close of the San Francisco conference, the world enters into a new phase of political history. Graduating from the striped-pants diplomacy and flowery-language ideology of the League of Nations, the new Golden Gate Charter welds the "peace-loving" nations of the world into a vigorous organization pledged to the maintenance of security and the furtherance of human rights.

The idea of enforcing peace through a world-wide organization first took shape in the 14 points of Woodrow Wilson and the League Covenant, but the League degenerated into a debating society. Embodied in the Versailles Treaty, it began as nothing more than a crippled coalition of victorious powers and ended as an impotent agglomeration of technical committees, stripped of all fundamental political functions.

The San Francisco Charter, drawn up by men who had learned the bitter lesson of Versailles and Geneva, today emerges as an international instrument independent of any peace treaty, but founded upon the historical defeat of totalitarianism.

It is only by comparing, point by point, the new Charter with the old League Covenant that we can realize what a tremendous step forward the United Nations have taken toward the establishment of a permanent peace.

PREAMBLE

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. . . ." Thus starts the preamble of the United Nations Charter.

It is the first time in the history of international conventions that the common man—rather than the state—is made the subject of a world organization. The preamble to the Covenant starts: "The high contracting parties . . ." and never once mentions the individual, but instead refers to "States," "Nations" and "Governments."

The new Charter is the first official international declaration of human rights —"To reaffirm faith in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women . . . To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom . . . to practice tolerance . . ."

In the preamble to the League Covenant not a single mention is made of these ideas. Rather, it goes into such legalistic phrase-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ology as "by acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments . . ."

MEMBERSHIP

"The organization is open to all peace-loving states." This phrase "peace-loving" does not appear in the League Covenant. Nor has it been mentioned in any previous international agreement—from the Holy Alliance in 1815 to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907.

In the admission of new members the General Assembly can recommend a nation for inclusion in the organization, but it is up to the Security Council to make the final decision as to whether the record of a country really shows that it is "peace-loving."

In the membership requirements of the League of Nations, joining the League was restricted to "any fully self-governing state." The San Francisco Charter makes no such provision. It therefore gives a chance to many a country with limited sovereignty to join the new organization in the future.

ORGANIZATION

The United Nations Organization for the maintenance of peace and security is composed of an Assembly, a Council, a Secretariat, an International Court of Justice and an Economic and Social as well as a Trusteeship Council.

SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat in the new organization functions more or less like the administrative departments of a government and corresponds in a general way to the old League of Nations Secretariat. One interesting innovation, however, was brought out at San Francisco which has not often been mentioned. It is that employees of the Secretariat shed their individual nationality and assume allegiance, not to any particular nation but to the international body. Thus this group of specialists may become the first body of truly "world citizens." At present this does not seem too significant but in due time these internationally-minded men and women of all races, creeds and colors may become the nucleus for a world federation of peace-loving people. The League attempted to create a certain internationalism of the Secretariat along the above lines but failed miserably, and ended by having the various members of the Secretariat become mere mouthpieces of their individual governments.

There is another great improvement. According to San Francisco decisions, the new secretary general has the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any threat to the peace of the world. The League secretary had no such powers, and was merely the head of an immense and costly cross-reference section.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

"The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter and it may make recommendations to members of the United Nations or to the Security Council on any such questions." This gives a broad expanse of action to the assembled representatives of most of the nations of the world. They may discuss a variety of subjects such as the maintenance of world security, disarmament or the regulations of armament, and any other matter which they consider of world importance. However, they cannot take any definite action concerning major world problems. If in considering such a problem they find that something should be done about it, they make known their recommendations to the Security Council. The Council, which controls enough military and economic power to make any of its decisions stick, can then go about taking action on the recommendations of the Assembly, or can even improve upon these recommendations.

The new Assembly has a strong democratically representative function—even more so than, for example, the Congress of the United States—for in addition to the fact that any member of the Assembly or the Security Council can bring up matters for discussion, an outside state, non-member of the Organization, can also bring up matters for consideration by the Assembly. In addition, the Assembly, in public sessions which will be broadcast and cabled to every corner of the civilized world, can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even take up matters which are not directly under its jurisdiction but which are within the scope of the functions of the Security Council. Although in such instances it will not be able to recommend any definite course of action, it can muster up the forces of world public opinion to a point where the action it desires will be automatically forthcoming.

In the case of the old League of Nations, the Geneva Assembly had the right to discuss any matter it wished. The Covenant says: "The Assembly—(or) the Council—may deal at its meetings with any matter . . . affecting the peace of the world." But as in many other instances of League organization, there was an overlapping of power between the Assembly and the Council. While these two bodies argued as to who should take the ultimate action, it might become too late for action, as, for example, when Italy had gobbled up Ethiopia.

In the case of the San Francisco Charter there is no duplication of power, for, if the Security Council decides that an international dispute has enough urgency to necessitate immediate action, it can lock out any discussion of that problem by the Assembly and it therefore does not have to engage in lengthy diatribes with Assembly members.

Another important—but non-political—function of the Assembly is "that it shall promote international cooperation in economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields and assist in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

Here the fathers of the United Nations Charter have shown deep wisdom and understanding. For the first time it has been officially recognized that by promoting the material welfare of the people the fundamental causes of wars can be eliminated. By stressing the importance of economic and social cooperation, the men who drew up the Charter looked into the future and saw the day when political frictions will slowly be eliminated and replaced by smooth, friendly economic and social cooperation of peoples throughout the world.

In regard to trusteeships, the Assembly will have the final word over all dependent territories which are considered by the Council not to be of any strategic or military value. It will have under its general supervision a specialized body to prepare such non-strategic dependent areas for ultimate self-government.

Each member of the Assembly in good standing shall have one vote. On important questions a two-thirds majority of those present and voting shall decide the issue. These questions will include general matters concerning international security, election of non-permanent members of the Security Council, election of the Economic and Social Council, election of Trusteeship Council members, admission of new members to the United Nations Organization, expulsion of members, suspension of rights and privileges of members, and questions relating to trusteeship and budgetary matters. All other questions shall be decided by simple majority.

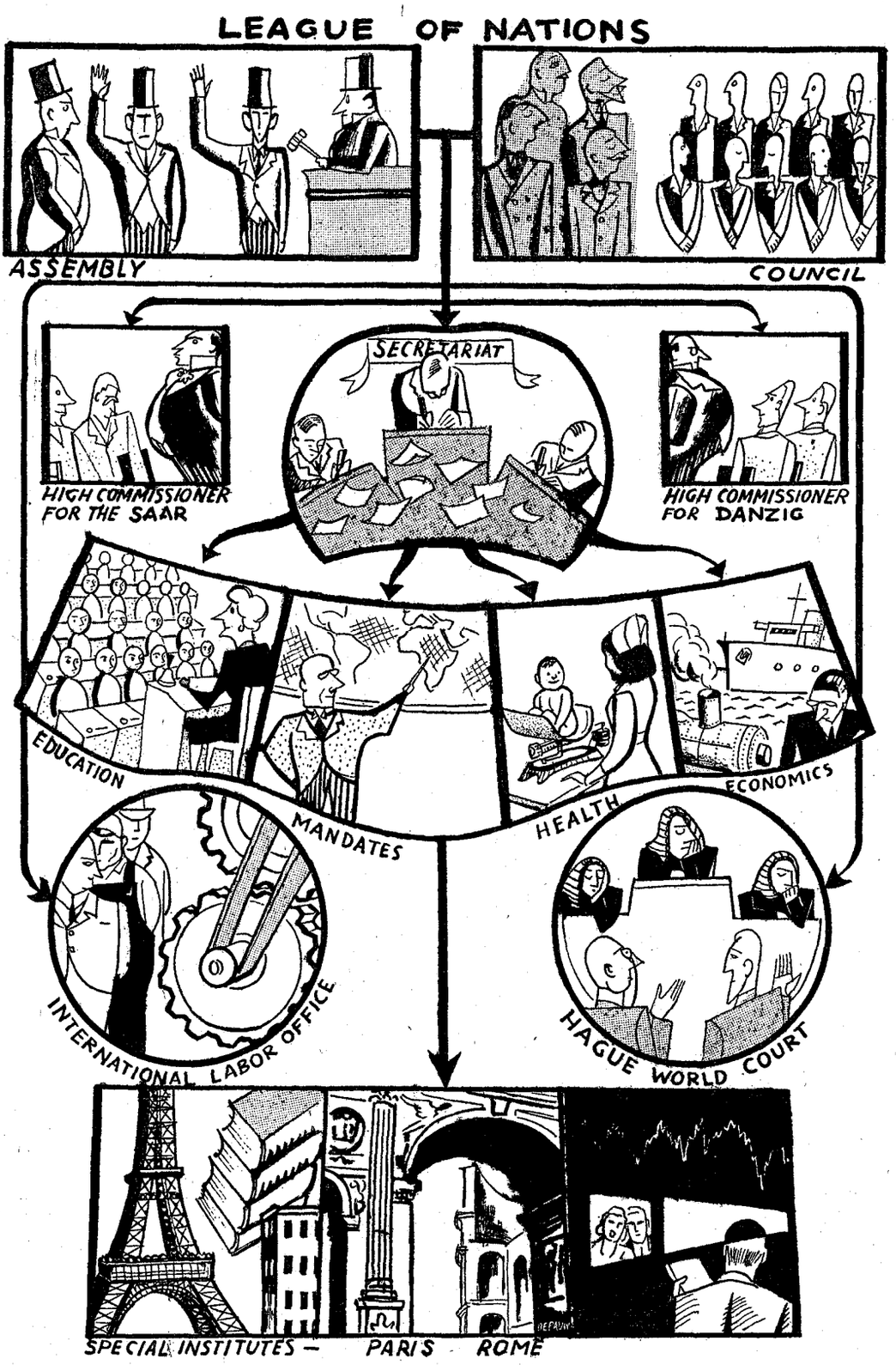
SECURITY COUNCIL

As in the League, this Council is composed of a set of permanent and a set of non-permanent members. The permanent members are representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, Soviet Russia, China and France. The importance of these five permanent members in the Security Council cannot be overestimated. For the first time, five great powers of the world are united in a single international organization pledged to prevent wars.

The League of Nations never included the United States, and its Council tended to be a purely European affair with some Latin Americans playing a minor role. Now two countries which have been outside of the world organization—the United States and the Soviet Union—have firmly bound their destiny to the other United Nations, and the universalism which the League of Nations so ineffectually tried to achieve has finally been attained to all practical purposes.

The permanency of the five "veto-members" of the Council shows a marked difference from the structure of the Geneva Council. Article 4 of the Covenant says, "the Council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the Council." No such provision exists in the Golden

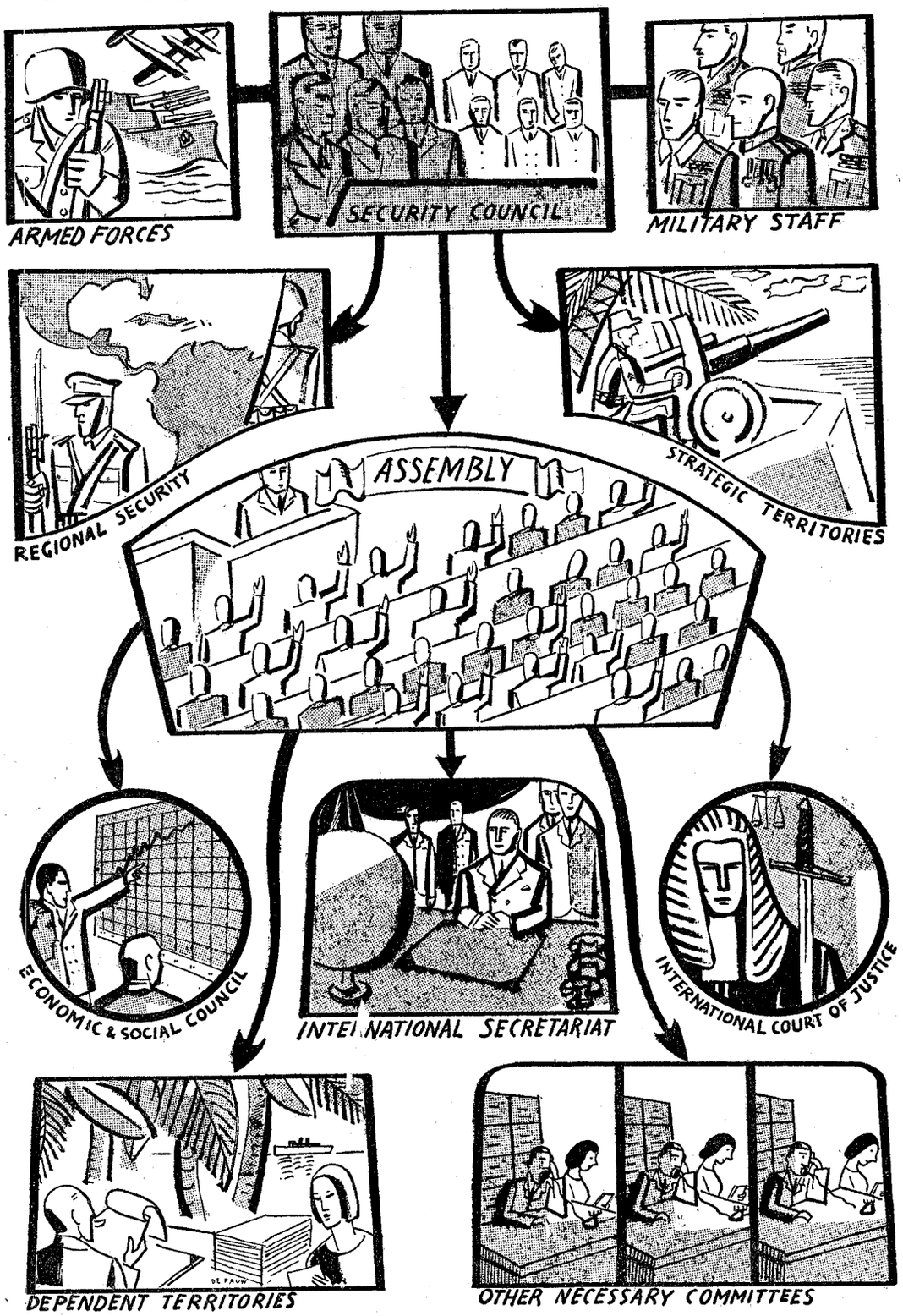
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The old League was a loose set-up built on a juridical formula without teeth in it. In fact, it had only the power of recommendation, without recourse to sanctions and without humanitarian and social provisions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION



The new United Nations Organization is closely knit, built on the political community of the United Nations. It draws its strength from the presence of all the Big Powers and from effective provisions to apply military, economic and social sanctions against an aggressor.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gate Charter, thus effectively preventing a possible situation in which Germany or Japan might claim at some future date permanent membership in the Security Council.

Six non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected by the Assembly. "In order to insure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf." For the Council is not a dictatorial authority established over the organization, but a group of "strong-arm countries" which are entrusted with the responsibility of keeping the peace. "In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

The Council, therefore, is not a body dominating the Assembly but an executive organization dominated by the spirit of the whole Organization. Its actions are strictly bound by the law as laid down in San Francisco—the preamble and the purposes of the Charter.

An erroneous impression has been circulated that the new Organization is controlled and bound to the will of the Big Five through the veto power given to the permanent members of the Council. It is interesting to compare the question of veto power with the League of Nations setup. Article Five of the Covenant says in part, "decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting."

In effect this establishes the veto power of each of the 58 nations who were members of the League at the outbreak of the war. The San Francisco Charter thus reduces by more than 10 times the veto power in the new Security Organization. Instead of any one of 58 nations being able to stand up and by a single vote of "no" block the entire world's action to maintain peace, only one out of five highly responsible countries has the power to veto any decision of the Organization.

In an attempt to democratize the new Council, the Charter provides that a non-permanent member of the Council cannot immediately be re-elected after his term expires. The League of Nations had no such provision and non-permanent members in its Council were chosen from a certain group of "eligible" nations who were often re-elected. When the first election of non-permanent members takes place after San Francisco, the more important "middle powers" will be elected to the non-permanent seats of the Council for two years, or in certain cases one year.

These first non-permanent members will probably not be called upon to decide any major security problems. The world, weary of war, will surely not develop any international disputes for at least a few years. But every following set of non-permanent Council members will be faced with an increasing probability of international conflict. And as elections progress these members will be representatives of less important and gradually smaller countries, their more important brothers having already held office.

The Security Council will control the armament policy of all nations. Through its military staff committees, definite plans for international regulation of armaments will be worked out and enforced by the Council. The League Council never possessed such strength of action. Article 8 says that "members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety . . ." and the Council of the League was charged with working out equitable disarmament plans. But the execution of these plans was subject to their acceptance by the individual member concerned. The new Council, on the contrary, has the power and the means to enforce its disarmament plans.

A great improvement on the old League of Nations system is also presented by the stipulation that the Security Council shall be on the job 24 hours a day—"it shall be able to function continuously." The League of Nations required only that "the council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year . . ."

Military sanctions in the League Covenant did not guarantee a speedy and ef-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fective military action against the aggressor. Article 16 says, "It shall be the duty of the Council to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military, naval or air forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenant of the League." It is not an accident that so many words say nothing.

The Golden Gate Charter on the other hand provides that "the Council may take such action by air, sea or land as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security." For the first time in human history a world military force under a joint General Staff can be put into motion at a moment's notice to extinguish the first spark that might set off another world conflagration.

This use of force to prevent wars is vested exclusively in the Security Council. No other nation or regional group of nations has the right to use armed force without the authorization of the Council.

Like the Briand-Kellog pact, this outlaws war as an instrument of national policy. It gives the Council a monopoly of military action for the enforcement of peace. No nation will now be able to use force, claiming that it does so only to keep the peace. The League did not outlaw all such use of force. In a major loophole, slipped into Article 15, it reserves for its members "the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice" if both parties to a dispute do not accept the unanimous decision of the Council.

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

An important innovation of San Francisco is the fact that regional security systems—"baby leagues"—will have power to settle disputes among themselves in a peaceful manner. For example, the Pan-American Union, or the Pan-Arab League, maintain their right to mediate in a local dispute. Should that dispute however develop into a threat of war, the Council will take over immediately.

The League's reference to regional systems is in Article 21, which states that "nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understanding, like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace." The weakness of this lies in the fact that such regional systems could have greater power than the League.

The ideology of collective security, as expressed in Litvinov's famous sentence, "Peace is indivisible," was always opposed by the fascist conception of localization of conflicts, which boiled down to nothing else than: exposing weak nations to the overwhelming force of their stronger neighbors. The Charter very successfully combines the principle of regional autonomy with the idea that "peace is indivisible."

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" the Charter establishes a Social and Economic Council. This Council is charged with "the promotion of high standards of living, full employment, the solution of international social, health and other problems, and international cultural and educational cooperation." It will also attempt to establish "universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

The League of Nations never had such a creative instrument. Only as an afterthought in Article 23 entitled "Social and Other Activities" did it vaguely admit that "subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor (and) just treatment of native inhabitants . . ." In no instance does the League Covenant mention respect for universal human rights and fundamental freedoms, which the Charter so effectively presents to the world. The numerous committees of the League, set up with high-sounding names and well-paid personnel, were merely information and registration bodies. After the fall of the political func-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions of the League, these non-political bureaus remained and were used as an alibi to screen the failure of Geneva.

The new Council has all-embracing authority to go into every sphere of non-political life of peoples of the United Nations. *It is charged with the task of bettering the life of the common man.* Thus, at last, one of the firmest foundations for the creation of a contented and peaceful world has been laid.

INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP

"Members of the United Nations recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the dependent territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost their well-being . . . and their progressive development toward self-government or independence."

The League of Nations, in instituting the mandatory system, never endeavored to recommend the establishment of full independence for the countries under tutelage. Article 22 says "The tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility . . ." Thus the League officially recognized and perpetuated the doctrine of inequality of human rights and seemed to eternalize it.

INTERNATIONAL COURT

Drawing upon the statute of the Hague Court of International Justice, international lawyers from most of the United Nations have worked out a new judicial body. The main difference between the old and the new Court is that decisions of the United Nations Court will be carried out, if necessary, by the Security Council.

The Hague Court handed down a lot of beautifully-worded verdicts, but there was no authority to put these decisions into effect. The League did provide that "in the event of failure to carry out decisions (of the World Court) the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto." But the League Council would never have had the strength to take such "steps."

AMENDMENTS

Within the next ten years the United Nations Charter can be adapted to changed world conditions with relatively little difficulty. In fact, the authors of the Charter provide that, at the tenth annual session of the Assembly, the subject of revision shall automatically be placed upon the agenda if it has not already been brought up. But such an amendment conference can only be held once. The Golden Gate Pact therefore does not permit, as in the case of the League of Nations, the introduction of various loopholes by countries which feel that their style is being cramped by too much international regulation.

Under Article 26 of the Covenant "amendments will take effect when ratified by members of the Council and by a majority of the Assembly." This obviously opened the way for any country which could muster up enough support among its fellow members to introduce amendments which might have completely defeated the initial purpose of the League.

CONCLUSION

San Francisco saw the birth of a new type of federal world organization imbued with a vigorous spirit of international cooperation. Nations have decided to sacrifice part of their individual sovereignty in order to prevent another holocaust.

The San Francisco Pact was authored by a group of utterly realistic politicians—sobered by the terrible experiences of two world wars. The result of their work thus becomes a predominantly political instrument, with all the advantages and disadvantages attached thereto.

It is far from being a perfect Charter. The League of Nations Covenant, for example, is juridically a more perfect document. This is understandable. It was drawn up by some of the world's most eminent jurists. The men of Geneva, inspired by Wilsonian optimism, entrusted their work to the goodwill of the world.

Today, we entrust our hopes for permanent security to the five Great Powers. They bore the brunt of this war. Will they be able to bear the brunt of the peace?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United Nations Conference FORUMS

Coast to coast broadcasts—organized every Sunday throughout the San Francisco Conference by the AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY in cooperation with the INTERNATIONAL FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION and AMERICANS UNITED FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION

Participants in these Forums were:

HENRI BONNET
French Ambassador to the U. S.

HENRY CASSIDY
AP correspondent

OSCAR COX
Deputy Administrator, FEA

LOUIS DOLIVET
International Editor, FREE WORLD

HERBERT V. EVATT
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Australia

STOYAN GAVRILOVIC
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yugoslavia

HAAKON LIE
Secretary, Norwegian Federation of Labor

ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH
Assistant Secretary of State

JEAN-JACQUES MAYOUX
Member of French Consultative Assembly

L. B. PEARSON
Canadian Ambassador to the U. S.

LUIS QUINTANILLA
Mexican Ambassador to the U. S.

PAUL SCOTT RANKINE
Correspondent, Reuters of London

VINCENT SHEEAN
Author and columnist

JOHN SOPHIANOPOULOS
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Greece

NORMAN SOONG
Correspondent, Chinese News Service

SAO-KE ALFRED SZE
Former Chinese Ambassador to U. S.

ROBERT VALEUR
Director, French Press and Information Service in U. S.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Spain

BASIL VLAVIANOS
President, the Greek NATIONAL HERALD

ORSON WELLES
Columnist, playwright and actor

Many who heard these important broadcasts on the air have asked for the opportunity to reread them in FREE WORLD. We present them in the following pages, believing they offer a serious contribution to our thinking about San Francisco.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Heritage of the Underground

HAAKON LIE
JEAN-JAQUES MAYOUX
VINCENT SHEEAN
BASIL VLAVIANOS

Vincent Sheean — In planning our first Round Table we have intentionally chosen as participants some of the leaders of the Underground, first of all because we wanted to pay tribute to the most courageous and truly novel People's Movement which has come out of this war.

We have present today Mr. Jean-Jacques Mayoux, member of the French Consultative Assembly, Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Mr. Haakon Lie, Secretary of the Norwegian Federation of Labor; Mr. Basil Vlavianos, President of the *Greek National Herald.* Mr. Mayoux, you became a leader of the Resistance while you were teaching at the University of Lyon. Did you work with your students?

Jean-Jacques Mayoux—Most of my students were working with me. The greatest fear for me and for them was to be tortured and forced to speak. I was caught only once by Gestapo agents, and when I was caught I had in my pockets documents that led me straight to the torture chamber. One and a half hours after being arrested, I escaped by jumping out the window. I thought even to be shot while escaping would be better than to run the danger of torture.

The idea of torture was a nightmare for us. I remember an Alsatian, a good man, who did wonderful work for us—a baker. He was arrested by the Germans in June 1944, just a few weeks before the liberation came. He wanted to escape from the torture chamber, but was not so lucky as I was in jumping out the window. The only way out for him was to fall down a flight of stairs. He broke his spine and his legs. I found him in a hospital a few days after liberation. He was still alive and happy. I don't remember ever having seen anybody that happy.

Sheean—Did he recover?

Mayoux—No, he died shortly after.

Sheean—In all the Resistance movements you gentlemen know about, was there unity among workers and intellectuals, among people in many walks of life?

Haakon Lie—In Norway there was complete unity in all classes of the population, among all parties, among men and women of all professions and occupations. The Quisling party in the elections had one-tenth of 1 per cent of the votes, which constituted the only element that went to work for the Germans. This was an element so ridiculously small as to have no meaning whatever. I should say that we knew what to do as soon as Hitler dissolved all political parties in Norway and recognized the Quisling party. Hitler clinched our unity.

Sheean—Was unity as complete in France, Mr. Mayoux?

Mayoux — Not exactly. France was prostrated by defeat. It took some time before the healthy elements of the population could pull themselves together and start an organized fight. People had to first accept the idea of becoming ruthless, hard as steel, good haters. We had to hate, and yet we were fighting against hate.

Sheean—Just what do you mean by that?

Mayoux—I had better answer you with an example. One day my little daughter, who was then seven years old, told me that she had refused to say "good morning" to a German soldier who had smiled at her and wanted to be kind. I did some quick and anxious thinking. I told her, "No, you didn't do the right thing. If the man said "good morning" to you, you should have answered "good morning." I did not know how to explain it to her. But perhaps at that moment I really knew for the first time what I was fighting for. I was fighting for an order of things where there could not be, ever again, anything like nazism —anything that would force a little girl of seven years to know what hatred is.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In these and succeeding broadcasts distinguished men of many countries debate the manifold aspects of the new World Organization, with emphasis on the political and social cooperation between the nations that will be needed to build a future of peace and prosperity. The next four forums in this series will be broadcast from Washington, D. C., with national legislators and columnists participating. The August issue of* FREE WORLD *will present a summary of these Washington discussions. Tune in every Sunday on American Broadcasting Company (Blue Network) for* UNITED NATIONS FORUM, *organized by* FREE WORLD *and Americans United.

And I felt within myself, "No, no—for God's sake! We, the grown-ups, we who are responsible, we have to do the hating." It was these contradictions that made our fight so hard. In the words of your Declaration of Independence, we fought for men's right to life, liberty and happiness, but we had to use violence and destruction to gain our end.

Sheean—Did you ever think, during all those years, that something like what is happening in San Francisco would ever come to pass? Did the idea of international cooperation ever occur to you while you were giving everything to save your country?

Mayoux—Of course. We always knew that something like what is today called "San Francisco" would come. And I will tell you why I knew it. It was because of Roosevelt. We heard the British and American radios. We were not informed of every detail, but we knew of the Four Freedoms, we knew of the Atlantic Charter, and we knew of Roosevelt. We had no time to waste in interpreting the Four Freedoms or the Atlantic Charter, but we just believed in them, and we believed in Roosevelt.

Lie—It was exactly the same in Norway. The only difference between Norway and the other occupied countries is that in Norway we have no political conflict. We were the most peaceful of all nations, yet because we had a good democracy we also proved to be the best prepared of all nations for the Resistance struggle. Our main weapon of resistance has been, first, disobedience; second, sabotage; third, armed struggle. But we have used armed struggle, so to speak, surgically—at the appropriate moment, on some vital spot—for instance, blowing up bridges or power plants. Mostly we relied on disobedience and sabotage.

Sheean—Which were the particular nazi orders or laws that you disobeyed?

Lie—That's easy to answer! Every law and every order that aimed at the nazification of our country. Whenever the nazis tried the work of infiltration in our schools, churches, universities, in our trade unions, into our youth organizations, we resisted them. I can tell you one instance that will interest you. The nazis tried to change the curriculum and the text books in our schools. The overwhelming majority of our school teachers agreed that they were going to teach as before, or else they would stop work for good. The Germans and the local quislings had no choice.

Mayoux—I may say that we had the greatest admiration for the Norwegian Underground and your national discipline. We in France who fought in the Resistance thought of Europe as much as we thought of France.

Basil Vlavianos—Yes, that was so in Greece. I think that the Greek people felt a particular sense of international responsibility because of what Greece represents in the history of civilization.

Sheean—I am very grateful to you gentlemen. Here in San Francisco the foundations of what is going to be the future order of peace are being laid down. Yet, nothing of what may come out of San Francisco is going to be of any value unless it can reward the sacrifices of the people who have fought. Our soldiers on the battlefield have been brave, but the civilians who fought in the Resistance movements have been equally brave. We owe our victory to them as well as to the soldiers. Today you have brought us an echo of the voice of the civilians.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Emergence of New Values

Henri Bonnet
Herbert V. Evatt
Stoyan Gavrilovic
L. B. Pearson
John Sophianopoulos
Orson Welles

Orson Welles – It is very much to be hoped that our State Department and our Office of War Information will prepare pictures and books and pamphlets and histories, documents of reference and popular presentation, as complete as possible of everything that has been going on at this conference in San Francisco so that all Americans and all free peoples may see the functioning of the first world parliament.

We are having our troubles, plenty of them, but we are solving them as they come up with a wonderful speed and a spirit quite new to the gathering of diplomats. In spite of the worst headlines and the gloomiest broadcasts, please be assured that we are witnessing in these great days a most high and hopeful event in the history of mankind's fight for a free world.

Gathered around this microphone are gentlemen who have come with very special instructions not only from their official governments, but instructions from their peoples. They come directly from the countries they represent and speak directly for these peoples today. I would like to hear first from Mr. Ambassador, Henri Bonnet, on the subject of the French people and their feeling concerning the Conference. Mr. Bonnet.

Henri Bonnet—The French people, during two world wars, have gone through a terrible hardship. They have known death on the battlefields, starvation, persecutions. They have lost for a moment the liberties which are as dear to them as life. So what they hope we shall do here is, first of all, to establish a strong framework of security. They want us to officially protect peace and after that they will wholeheartedly cooperate with the people of the United States and with the people of all the United Nations, to build a better world, to develop a more complete system of international cooperation in every field of our human endeavor.

Welles – Thank you very much Mr. Ambassador. Minister Evatt, will you tell us a little something about the people of Australia, in reference to this Conference and to its purposes?

Herbert Evatt—We feel very much like the people of France. We have been engaged in war for more than ten years out of the last thirty—four and one-half in the last war, and five and one-half in this war. We have been fighting in practically every theater of the war. Our people are determined to do their utmost to get a security organization going. Their sacrifices have been very great indeed. So we come to San Francisco determined to make a success of it. You ask me what the obstacles to this success are. I think many of them have been overcome. A good spirit is there. All these preliminary skirmishes don't amount to anything. The major powers are getting down to work and seem determined to help in its success. We seek security, not only in the Pacific but throughout the world. But in the Pacific we desperately need it because in Australia in 1942 we nearly went under to the Japs. But for the timely help we got from this country, disaster would have overtaken us.

Welles—From a country of classic bravery and with a classic devotion to the cause of democracy comes Mr. John Sophianopoulos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Sophianopoulos—The Greek people attach tremendous importance to the San Francisco Conference.

They expect that in it the ability of the Great Powers to work together for peace as a team cooperating in a democratic way with the small nations will be definitely tested.

They also expect that from the Conference some concrete and effective plan will emerge capable of guaranteeing peace and security for them and for all the peoples of the world for many generations to come.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And the Greek people need peace and security perhaps more than any other people of the world because they have been fighting almost without interruption since nineteen twelve.

Since the twenty-eighth of October in 1940, when Mussolini attacked Greece, the Greek people have mobilized all the strength of their soul to fight our enemies, the enemies of mankind.

After Mussolini we had to face Hitler, and when Greece fell the entire Greek nation continued its relentless resistance. For three and a half years the Greek people fought unceasingly. Every corner of the country was a first line of battle.

But the price was very heavy for our small and poor country. More than twelve hundred towns and villages have been destroyed by the ruthless fascists, the nazis and the Bulgarians.

Reconstruction is badly needed, as well as peace, without which reconstruction is impossible. This is why the Greek people pray for the success of the San Francisco Conference and do their best to have a share in the success.

Welles—The papers are very full of the reported deaths of two once-mighty gentlemen. One of these was recently hanging in a public square by his feet. He was the dead Duce. The other was reported dead but we do not seem to be able to find the corpse of the once terrible Hitler. It brings an interesting thought to mind, I think, because in discovering the body of Mussolini, we discover the body of Italian democracy, and it has shown us that democracy in Italy has existed in some measure through all the years of fascist domination and that given encouragement, and the opportunity to build a free world, such a democratic force is a real thing to be counted on. But it is an interesting point I believe, a point worth noting, that we cannot find Hitler's body and we cannot find the German Underground. I would like comment on the subject.

Louis Dolivet—I think that the German fascist penetration into the deep masses of the people of Germany was much stronger than in Italy. I think the fascists were very dangerous in both countries and the fact that the Italian partisans have killed Mussolini should not let us overlook the danger of a return of some fascist forces in Italy. Since the liberation we have seen that the fascists sometimes allied themselves with the monarchists and other reactionary forces in Italy, and are now trying very hard to bring back some form of neo-fascism which will not be exactly like Mussolini's fascism, but will still be extremely dangerous. In other words the Allies, despite the defeat of the Italian and German governments, have the immense task before them of preventing the rebirth of some new form of fascism.

Welles—I see here to my left Mr. Pearson, who is the Ambassador from Canada, looking as though he would like to say something on the subject.

L. B. Pearson—Well, Mr. Welles, there are people here who could say a great deal more about fascism than I can because, of course, I come from a country which, like your own, was not so exposed to that disease as the European countries were. My reactions are much like your own for on the whole Canadians are, as you know, much like Americans—in fact, so much like Americans that nobody ever has asked me for an autograph in the St. Francis Hotel. I don't feel like making any great distinction between nazism and fascism, or paying too much attention to the fact that we have found Mussolini's body and not Hitler's.

Welles—Would you say that the fact that we have found an Italian democratic Underground and have not found a German democratic Underground is worthwhile?

Pearson—It is worth attention, and may be important. I wonder if there has been no German Underground merely because of the greater power of the German nazis.

Welles—I should like to hear from the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Mr. Gavrilovic, on the subject of this distinction. Would you say, Mr. Under-Secretary, that perhaps fascism in Germany was more efficient than fascism in Italy? Or would you say that democracy was more indestructible in one country than in the other or would you go along with Mr. Pearson on the question of power?

Stoyan Gavrilovic—The Yugoslavs do not make any distinction between the Germans and Italians in this respect. They have suffered from both of them. Germany and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Italy behaved in very much the same manner toward Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav peoples. The numerous schemes of aggression which were engineered against our country during the last years of peace were directed equally from Berlin and from Rome. During all these years Rome was responsible for a whole series of unbroken acts of violation aimed at the Yugoslav state and the Yugoslav peoples. When the war came it was just the same. Yugoslavia was attacked by both Germany and Italy. While German hordes were crossing the Yugoslav borders from the North and East, the Italians were the first to seize the opportunity of our difficulty and embarrassment and invade us from the West. During enemy occupation, the Italian fascists behaved just as badly as, if not worse than, the Germans themselves.

Welles – Mr. Secretary, of course we make no distinction between fascisms. I hope there is no one in this studio who would think there is such a thing as a good fascist.

Gavrilovic—We in Yugoslavia cannot share the view that Italian fascists are any better than the German.

Herbert Evatt—I think there is a great deal in Orson Welles' point. But fascism was stronger in Germany than in Italy probably because the Germans were more efficient, more unscrupulous, and they liquidated the opposition more ferociously than did the Italians. Yet fascism is the same all over the world—it takes one form in one country, other forms in other countries. There are fascist sympathizers in all countries, and now that the war is coming to an end they are gradually emerging from their foxholes all over the world.

Welles—Mr. Ambassador, Henry Bonnet, would you agree to that?

Bonnet—I do. Fascism is the same all over the world. I could define it in one word. Fascism is despair, lack of faith in the capacity and ability of man to organize the world. We have proved in all democratic countries that the individual is able by his own will to create more beauty than the fascist systems. They were bound—Hitler and Mussolini—to destroy democracy and to destroy freedom if they were to impose on the world their new conceptions of the so-called mass civilization. Now, here in San Francisco, we must prove again after our fathers in every one of our lands that we are able to organize, to create, to have a prosperous and free world.

Welles—Much is heard about "what to do with Germany after the war." What do you think, Mr. Evatt, should be done with Japan after this war?

Herbert Evatt—First you've got to catch your hare. We've got to break our fascist foes in the Pacific. I express the hope that the European countries will take as active a part against the Pacific enemy as the Pacific countries, like Australia and New Zealand, have taken against the European enemies. It is the same evil thing we are fighting, fascism in three varying forms. What's to be done afterward? One thing that's got to be done is to punish the Japanese for their atrocities in the Pacific, even if we have to trace them right through to the man in charge, Emperor Hirohito.

Welles—Then you think we must stop treating the Emperor as a divinity?

Herbert Evatt—In New Guinea the Japanese atrocities against the Australian and American troops were even worse than the German atrocities that have been recently exposed. Witness the recent press photograph of such shocking atrocities as the beheading of the Allied airman. We find that they commit these crimes not sporadically, but because the military command teaches them to do it as a terrorist system. It is plain that that system must have the imprimatur of the Emperor. If so, he is as guilty as the common soldier who commits the crimes.

Welles—And now I should like a closing word from Mr. Pearson who is interested in the Pacific quite as much as is the United States.

Pearson—As Mr. Eden put it the other day, there is a job to be done. More than that, there is a job to be well done. I think all our people are expecting our jobs not only to be done, but to be well done. And I see in that problem the building of an organization of peace, here founded on the cooperation of all states. That is one of the problems we are meeting, overcoming here, and getting all states into. I wonder if I could add a few words. The organization has to be a symphony, not only a string quartet.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

World Citizenship and Economic Problems

Oscar Cox
Archibald MacLeish
Luis Quintanilla
Sao Ke Alfred Sze
Orson Welles

Orson Welles—The war per se has given the individual his naturalization papers as a world citizen. He will henceforth increasingly assume the responsibilities of this office and participate accordingly. His education for a world service entails a new approach, new textbooks, new in interpretations of history. I should like to ask Mr. MacLeish to comment on this great and urgent question of the relation of the individual to international organization and to his new citizenship in the world.

Archibald MacLeish—I would comment in the rather ungrateful form of taking your metaphor apart, Mr. Welles. It is a very impressive metaphor.

Welles—You are the man who can take it apart, Mr. MacLeish.

MacLeish—Nevertheless, it is a very impressive metaphor. You said that the war has established, as I understood you, the rights of world citizenship, has given individuals throughout the world their papers as world citizens. I should like to look at that for a moment. I think it is an impressive statement, a true statement. I think it is historically true, and I should like to tell you why I think it is true and see if that relates to what you have in mind.

I should say that what the war has indicated, beginning with the fascist revolution in Spain and continuing through the fascist seizures of power in Germany is that when any state violates the rights of its citizens to such an extent as to destroy the moral balance, then the peace of the world is endangered. If that is what you have in mind I should say that it would probably follow that individuals must have some sort of "world citizenship."

Welles—I hope it is clear, Mr. MacLeish, that I was not invoking the Tennysonian image of a parliament of man as realized here on earth or at this moment, or talking about such a smoky thing as a world state.

MacLeish—Certainly we are not setting up a world state in San Francisco. Everyone recognizes that fact. I think what you were getting at was the question of the relation of individuals to the kind of new concept of the world which people here have in mind. I should like to ask you whether your generalization, your famous metaphor, is based on the kind of historical fact that I am talking about or something else?

Welles—The metaphor which you, Mr. MacLeish, have made famous, was based entirely on your definition and formulations.

MacLeish—There I agree entirely with you. I should like to add just one more thing and then I shall stop monopolizing the conversation.

When historical perspective exists to such an extent as to enable us to look back on this time, when people begin to put together in the Library of Congress the great documents which this time has produced, to stand beside the Declaration of Independence and the Magna Charta, the world will read with amazement the statements which came out from the meeting which produced the Atlantic Charter. The world will read with amazement the statements which the President made in his great message on the state of the Union in January 1941, statements which establish the rights of people everywhere in the world, freedom of speech everywhere in the world. Equally amazing is the phrase in the Atlantic Charter that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want. These are the tremendous revolutionary statements and they reflect the historical experience that I think you are talking about, Orson.

Welles—I should like now to call on the Deputy Director of the Foreign Economic Administration, Mr. Oscar Cox, for a word on the economic aspect of problems we face

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

today. He is perfectly free to take any direction he wants.

Oscar Cox—I should like to further define the metaphor so that we have no illusions about the aims or ideals of this Conference. The world citizenship idea certainly does not include such fundamental things as whether or not the citizens of one nation can move without a passport or a visa to any other nation, but I do think it is of enormous significance that written into the Charter has been a clear cut and articulate recognition of the fundamental freedoms of human rights. For a long time in the field of international law the orthodox view was that it dealt only with the rights of nations, not with the rights of individual citizens. It's clear I think, as the march of history shows, that progress is made very slowly in these fundamental freedoms.

In a state as civilized as Athens, slavery was an accepted institution, but in this country we fought a civil war on this issue. This didn't mean that equality of rights was granted one hundred per cent.

When you look at the atrocity pictures and read the story of what has happened under nazi and fascist rule, you begin to see in concrete form that not only did you have the barbaric destruction of human life, but also the very deprivation of the most fundamental freedom. The fact that fifty nations are willing to subscribe to a document which is in effect a constitution is a great step in the march of progress. I should like to say a few words about the work of the Economic and Social Council proposed to be set up under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The work of the Economic Council in the next twenty years is likely to be as important as the work of the Security Council. We know that the danger point does not occur until some twenty years after a war. The economic problems resulting from the destruction and devastation of the war are here now, in countries all across the world. People are living on a below-starvation diet. Factories and homes have been destroyed. Unless something effective is done on that score, we shall be building the pre-conditions for another war. Prevention of war is certainly more important than fighting the war, and the pre-conditions have to be met, and met quickly. The Economic and Social Council is given the power to deal with some of the basic conditions which are necessary for the keeping of the peace. These conditions are no abstract. They affect individuals in their personal lives.

Welles—Would you like to tell us a little about how they affect individuals and their lives, very directly and immediately.

Cox—Take the case of Holland. You have people who can no longer take food directly. They have to take it intravenously. Now that, in an extreme form, is clear cut indication of how international economic relationships can affect a particular individual.

Welles—How would you say the fact that a man in Holland has to take his nourishment intravenously affects a man in Holland, Michigan?

Cox—It affects him very directly because if that condition continues, and the man in Michigan does not stand by his friends in adversity, the thing may turn on him in two ways. These near-starved people are apt to be subject to the appeal of demagogues, and great political instability may be the result. That instability may lead to war. Unless the conditions are corrected the man in Michigan may find his son fighting another war.

Welles—Do you feel there is also a relation to the job of the man in Holland, Michigan and the man in Holland?

Cox—I think there is a direct relationship. Unless there is prosperity pretty much all over the world, every country is likely to be affected. We know that in the 1930's, for example, each country ran into economic difficulty in the terms of the man in Holland. It had its affect on the jobs here. And the depths of the depression is concrete evidence of that fact.

Sao-Ke Alfred Sze—The Chinese man on the street will be glad to learn that there is hope at last for the establishment of reason in place of force as the arbitrator of international disputes. He will even consider the tremendous cost of two world wars within one generation as not too much to pay for this advancement in human civilization. The concept of peaceful settlement of disputes is a fundamental one to the individual. Chinese citizens have witnessed or participated in such a procedure in the tea houses in China's towns and vil-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lages. As victims of Japanese military aggression and oppression, the people of China are ready to welcome the progress and promise of security in the future as anxiously as those suffering from drought welcome the appearance of rain clouds on the horizon, even if they appear to be no larger than a man's hand.

Welles—We should now like to hear from Ambassador Quintanilla.

Luis Quintanilla—I was very glad to hear that there was no question of establishing a world government in San Francisco. I think that idea frightens people, and very rightfully so. They are afraid that it might hurt national interests and national traditions, even to a certain extent national independence. So assuming that that is the case, we are not trying to establish a world government. I think the most important thing that will come out of the Conference, especially as far as youth is concerned—and they are the ones who will see the benefits of whatever emerges—will be our changed way of thinking; we shall have to think in terms of world interest after San Francisco.

Welles—Would you say that in thinking "in terms of world interest" would mean a renunciation of all national interests?

Quintanilla—No. I think it means that we shall have to continue thinking in terms of national interest, as well as in terms of world interest. We shall add something, not diminish.

MacLeish—Perhaps I can throw in an illuminating incident. I was coming into the lobby of my hotel when a gentleman stopped me and said that he and forty-nine other people wanted to be heard on a project which interested them very much. They thought that the preamble of the charter which is going to be drawn up here, ought to begin, not, "We, the high contracting powers," but "We, the peoples of the United Nations." He said the international lawyers would object to that but he thought that that was what ought to be said. A gentlemen standing next to me said: "What international lawyers would object to that?" And the reply seemed to be that international lawyers who would object to that, would be international lawyers who would object to it. Now the fundamental these people proposed was that the charter should phrase itself in terms of what these people of the United Nations want. Is that what you have in mind?

Quintanilla—It will be impossible to maintain something which we could call rugged nationalism. I think rugged nationalism will be as dead as rugged individualism.

MacLeish—I hope you are a good prophet, but the question that one asks himself at certain moments of the day is whether this really is a conference of the people who make up the nations of the United Nations as distinguished from other conferences of the past. I for one believe it is. I think that what is present here at San Francisco is the combined opinions of the world. I think that is what is going forward here. I think the discussion arises from that basis and moves forward from that source. I do not mean to say that all the operations of international negotiations do not have to go on, and that they are not difficult. They are difficult. But there is a great wind blowing through our time and it is going through this city.

Welles—How is the wind blowing for you, Oscar?

Cox—I think that the wind blows very heavily, but on the rugged individualism and interdependence question I think instead of again using metaphors, we ought to be a little more specific. The fact is that the peoples of the world have been fighting and winning this war. They have learned the meaning of interdependence in the war. They have acted interdependently. They have had a common strategy. They have had combined military operations. They have had, for example, General Eisenhower in command of the Allied forces. They have pooled supplies and all other resources to defeat the Axis. I think you can get no greater proof of practical interdependence in terms of the security of the individual and the peace-loving peoples than that which is being demonstrated every day all over the world.

Welles—Here is a man from the other side of the border. Here is a grand champion of the Good Neighbor policy. Luis Quintanilla, how about the Good Neighbor policy that works? How about a world Good Neighbor policy?

Quintanilla—I think that we of the West-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ern Hemisphere should be very proud of our achievements in the field of inter-American relations. We are really witnessing here a confirmation of everything we thought of in the Good Neighbor policy as sound and correct. What we are doing here in San Francisco is extending the Good Neighbor policy to the whole world.

Welles—Would you answer affirmatively to the question that a Good Neighbor policy and the peace that it represents is a better definition than a world state, and is a good hope for a lasting and decent peace?

Sze—Yes, I agree to that. I think China is united to the United States by the Pacific Ocean and we are not separated by it. We have always had great sympathy and affection for you.

Welles—We have heard the kind of unanimity we approve of because it is constructive. It is going to get somewhere.

MacLeish—The great news of this Conference is its unanimity. There is an area of agreement which is simply amazing, and that is the great news of the Conference. It is quite obviously necessary to refer to the distinctions and differences. There are various points of view. Neither in the American delegation nor anywhere else in this Conference have I seen or has anyone else seen any differences on principles. There are not any differences on principle.

Remaining Dangers of Fascism

J. Alvarez del Vayo
Louis Dolivet
Robert Valeur
Orson Welles

Orson Welles—Mr. Valeur, as Director of the French Press and Information Service in the United States, could you tell us whether the present Allied governments were too late in taking collective action against fascist aggression? For this mistake, the world paid a price of twenty million lives. Looking back to a day in April, 1936, what would have happened if France had given an ultimatum to Germany to get out of the re-occupied Rhineland in six hours, and to stay out?

Robert Valeur—It's about certain that when Mr. Hitler decided to send the army of the Reich into the Rhineland so as to erect the Siegfried Line, which has cost so many American lives, the generals told Mr. Hitler that the "French are going to stand pat, and at this stage we cannot stand against them." Mr. Hitler said, "If they do, I'll commit suicide." This means that if we had sent a French army into the Rhineland, there would probably have been only one casualty, and that would have been Mr. Hitler.

In the meantime, in nine years, 20 million people were killed. The French didn't go into the Rhineland. There were in France forces of appeasement. Moreover, as soon as Prime Minister Sarraut expressed the point of view that France should do something about preventing the Germans from re-occupying the Rhineland, there was a wave of public indignation in Britain and in the United States. Why? Those imperialistic and militaristic Frenchmen wanted to send their army into a land which is not theirs but belonged to the good people of Germany. Now it was largely because of that indignation on the part of the British and the Americans that the French did not go into the Rhineland. That, and of course, the appeasement policy of certain French military men.

Louis Dolivet—Mr. Welles, I would like to go further back. I would like to submit that France, Great Britain and the United States should have acted against fascism in 1922 in Italy. As soon as Mussolini, in violation of every concept of democracy, established a terrorist regime, it was of vital importance to all the Allies to declare war, if necessary, against Italy. At that time it would have been merely a police measure, and we would have saved many millions of Allied soldiers. The same applies to Germany.

Welles—What you say is true, Mr. Dolivet. And now, let me call attention to a country which is absent from this San Francisco Conference, yet whose people fought the first battle against fascism. That

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country is Republican Spain. For freedom-loving people everywhere in the world the victory of the United Nations and the new world organization will be incomplete so long as the great freedom-loving people of Spain are not represented through their democratic government from the councils of the United Nations.

I have here a very dear friend, Alvarez del Vayo, the former and future Foreign Minister of Spain. Mr. del Vayo, I would like to ask you this direct question: Are there in Spain concentration camps in which conditions are like those in Buchenwald and other nazi prison camps?

J. Alvarez del Vayo—Yes, Mr. Welles, there are, and the other day in San Francisco, while addressing the international press, I said perhaps it would be very interesting to ask permission of the Franco regime to visit these camps. And not only prison camps. At this moment there are in Spain at least 50,000, I repeat 50,000, nazi agents. They have been protected in a very clever and subtle way—by giving them Spanish nationality. It is a most dangerous situation. While the Allied armies and Allied authorities are hunting nazi agents throughout Europe, these 50,000 are in Spain and no one can lay hands on them because they are "Spanish" protected by Franco.

Valeur—A legitimate fifth column.

Welles—If any fifth column can be called legitimate! Mr. Valeur, now that you have spoken up, what does France think of Franco Spain? Not the government, the people.

Valeur—Of the French people 99½ per cent have been for Republican Spain all along, but the forces of appeasement which were strong in France, America and Britain prevented us from doing anything about it.

Welles—Will you repeat the number?

Valeur—At least 99½ per cent, perhaps even more now, since tens of thousands of Spaniards who had escaped from Spain when Franco temporarily triumphed, sought refuge in France. They were put into concentration camps by Mr. Petain, but they managed to join the Maquis at the time of the liberation of France, and played a role in the liberation of a good part of the French southwest. When you have fought side by side with those Spanish Maquis, you feel very close to those forces of freedom which are at work in Spain.

Del Vayo—Spanish Republicans are absolutely sure of the cooperative attitude of the French democracy in regard to Republican Spain. It would be equally desirable if the other democracies would hold the same position. The Spanish issue is not, as it has been pretended, a European problem alone. It is an American problem, because so long as there is a Franco Spain, you will have in Latin America propaganda and agitation against you. It is an American problem 100 per cent.

Question from the Floor—Just how could we get rid of fascism in Spain?

Del Vayo—Only by withdrawing every support to the Franco regime.

Welles—Will you tell us, Mr. Del Vayo, how we may act against Franco, using diplomatic and economic weapons?

Del Vayo—First I would stop the sending of all kinds of materials.

Welles—Mr. Dolivet, what about the farce of neutrality?

Dolivet—The farce of neutrality is admitted today by every sensible man. Spain has helped the Axis powers during the entire war. Franco Spain behaved horribly toward refugees from France and other countries who tried to escape through Spain to the Allied countries. Many tens of thousands of soldiers who could have fought in the Allied ranks were kept in concentration camps in Spain.

Question from the Floor—I was very much impressed by Mr. Del Vayo's remark that fascism in Spain is an American problem. Franco's government a 100 per cent fascist government is not yet one of the United Nations though some of us fear it may become so. Here in the Western Hemisphere we have a country which is fascist and which is one of the United Nations. How do we reconcile that fact with the common assumption that the United Nations are united against the kind of aggression that fascism stands for?

Welles—Serious as this mistake is, wouldn't you say that we must now encourage the elements of democracy in Argentina?

Valeur—The people of Argentina are very democratically inclined. I have a very

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great deal of gratitude toward those people who on the day of the liberation of Paris staged enthusiastic parades . . .

Welles—Did Peron permit this?

Valeur—As far as I know, Peron's permission was not asked. It was spontaneous . . .

Welles—I thought it was against his orders to celebrate V-E Day . . .

Del Vayo—I would like to say that the editor of the paper for which I write in Buenos Aires, during the whole war was on the side of the Allies. Now he is in jail because he wanted to celebrate V-E Day. Today in the *New York Times* you can read the names of many distinguished editors and intellectuals in Argentina who have been arrested in the last 48 hours. Nor is it Argentina alone that is in danger of becoming a fascist state. In Brazil for instance, we read that the Integralist Party, the fascist party in Brazil, is again reorganized. Thus I come to my first suggestion—so long as you have Franco in Spain you will have fascism in the Western Hemisphere.

Dolivet—The problem is clearly universal. It threatens not only the Americas; it threatens Asia, Europe, every part of the world.

Welles—Mr. Valeur, what about the French elections? I think they relate to this whole problem.

Valeur—General de Gaulle, who maintained the French flag on all battlefields for four years, was accepted, and rightly so, by the quasi-unanimity of the French, as the head of the present French Government.

He was faced with a number of problems, and many thought he was a little slow in attacking these problems. The reason was that De Gaulle wanted to have a show of public opinion. Now we have had that show of public opinion. The last municipal elections show what many people call a disquieting trend to the Left. What does that mean? The Leftist parties in France who represent the common people, as against the vested interests, behaved beautifully during the German occupation. They were the ones who provided troops for the Underground and also the victims for the nazi squads of execution. They are the people who now have shown that they represent the majority of France.

Welles—It is an old war, beginning in the swamps and caves before history. There will be an end only when the enemies of peace and progress are brought to heel.

Seeds of Disunity

Henry Cassidy **Paul Scott Rankine**
Jean-Jacques Mayoux **Norman Soong**
Orson Welles

Orson Welles—Let us speak frankly. Whether rightly or not, with how much or how little justice, there has developed almost simultaneously with the progress of the conference a definite, persistent and increasing feeling of mistrust, bordering on hostility, toward that nation among us which has paid the highest price to keep the democratic world free from fascist tyranny.

This growing anti-Soviet sentiment did not just develop here in San Francisco and it did not spring full bloom from any one specific point of issue. We have seen the signs of its emergence for some time now, growing more recognizable as victory for the United Nations coalition in Europe became an established fact. What would you say, Cassidy, are the underlying causes for this feeling today?

Henry Cassidy—Well, I am not one of those who either fears or mistrusts Russia and I am not very clear in my own mind what people who fear or hate that country have in their minds. I do think that offhand this feeling largely comes from the fact that for twenty years we had a red bogeyman in this country. And even after we got that red bogeyman out from under the bed and found that he is white and a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nice fellow, we are still afraid of him, we are still suffering the consequences of that twenty years of anti-communist propaganda even though there is no reason today to fear the communists we feared in those days.

I think there is a natural rivalry between two peoples who come out on top of the heap as we and the Russians have done in this war. This could be a healthy rivalry. But I do think there is a good deal of suspicion.

Welles—I wonder if Paul Scott Rankine from Reuters could develop the idea that our common cause in this war against fascism did much to correct the ignorance and mistrust which existed before the war on both sides.

Paul Scott Rankine—Well, I think it is true that we have been united by a common cause. It is very important to realize what that common cause has been if you are going to analyze this immediate postwar position. I believe that common cause was not necessarily an understanding of each other. It was first and foremost a common enemy. The wish to defeat nazi Germany united us. Now that Germany has been defeated the cause which united us has been eliminated. Now our common enemy is war itself. But the building up and the maintenance of the machinery to keep Germany from again becoming an aggressor may be very much more difficult than many people think.

There is and always will be for as long as any of us can foresee a desire on the part of Germany to dominate her neighbors. But for the moment we are concerned with the prevention of war and to do that it is not merely necessary to understand each other or to eliminate distrust and fears. It is vital to build up a practical working machinery.

Welles—Well, would anybody like to take issue with that. Here is a gentleman who says we can build up a machinery without full understanding and trust.

Rankine—May I interrupt. I didn't mean that we can build it without the full understanding that the thing to concentrate on is the practical working of that machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. However much people understand each other, they may still fight each other and have a war situation developing if there is not adequate machinery.

Jean-Jacques Mayoux—First of all, I would like to say that I am in disagreement with Mr. Rankine about the idea that our enemy now is war. I think we have not changed our enemy and our enemy is still fascism just as it was. It seems to me that this must remain very clear to us. It seems to me that it is very dangerous to say that our enemy is war. Our enemy, in 1938 or at any rate the enemy of many of us, was war.

War was the enemy of Mr. Neville Chamberlain when he said "Peace in our time," when he practiced the policy of appeasement. War was his enemy and the result was war. It seems to me that we must know what we are fighting against, and that we must know what we are fighting for.

Welles—For some people this war started in 1938 or 1939. For others it started in 1931. Am I right, Norman Soong?

Norman Soong—Yes, in 1931. I think it is almost so long ago that most people have forgotten. The Japanese moved into Manchuria. The Chinese appealed to the League of Nations and found no help, no assistance, no solution. The Chinese consider that as the time when collective security failed. After that there have been many incidents that led up to the war in China and the war in Europe. But I think that is history.

Welles—I should like to get you on the record here, Norman, on this one question. Don't you think that the United States and the Soviet Union have more to gain than to lose by close cooperation in Asia after the war?

Soong—The United States and Russia definitely have more to gain than to lose. In fact I don't see any reason why the United States and Russia should have to fight over anything. They have both got . . .

Welles—If they did fight it would probably be in China, so I imagine that you are particularly interested . . .

Soong—Yes, we are right in the middle as you might say.

Welles—Right in the middle. Since there isn't any need for China to become such a battleground, I think we must underline this point; that the United States and Russia have not anything to gain by lessen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing cooperation—have everything to gain by increasing it.

Mr. Rankine, what are your views?

Rankine—I would like to ask Norman Soong a question. How is it possible to resolve the differences in China between those who are sympathetic to the Russian point of view and those who are sympathetic to the United States? Or if you like, those who are sympathetic to Chiang Kai-shek's views?

Welles—As moderator, before permitting Norman Soong to answer that question I would like to ask him parenthetically if he would accept the government of Chiang Kai-shek as fundamentally a dependency of the United States, or as a government looking to the United States specifically for leadership.

Soong—We looked to the United States only for lend lease.

Welles—This is an extraordinarily frank statement from a partisan of the Generalissimo's government.

Cassidy—I would like to answer Paul's question for Norman, if I may. You see there is this situation in China of a conflict between the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek's government. But these Chinese communists, in the Russian view, are not communists. They might call themselves communists. They have perhaps the same ideals as the Russian communists. They don't have the same system of operation. They don't have any sort of the same type of leadership. There is no connection, I am sure, between the Kremlin, the old Comintern, and the Chinese Communist party. The Russians want friendship with China eventually. They would like to see a democratic China.

Rankine—If I might comment on that. I am not concerned with conflicting ideologies in China itself. What I am concerned with is the danger of having a pro-Russian party in the country and a pro-American party, say, in the same country.

Welles—I should like to suggest that perhaps somebody sitting around the microphone would be willing to go on record to the effect that an anti-British or an anti-Chinese or an anti-Russian or an anti-United States government is a lot more dangerous than any pro-government.

Rankine—I accept that. The danger which was pointed out at Yalta is of those pro and anti parties, and you don't really have a pro party without an anti. And they are playing off these big powers, and playing off for help and assistance of a political nature to begin with, and later on of a military nature.

Soong—I think the thing goes back quite a few years. Back in 1924 the Chinese party that is now in control of the government there, appealed to quite a number of states at that time considered to be friendly, for help. It was a government that had just overthrown the Empire. It was not consolidated, so as soon as it got set up in Nanking it wanted diplomatic relations and various other things.

It was refused by every country including the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Japan. The only people who would help were the Russians. The Russians sent a man, Borodin, and he helped. He did a wonderful job, but the time came when the Chinese realized, or an element of the Chinese revolutionaires decided, that revolution in China was becoming more a Russian revolution than a Chinese revolution, or a communist revolution rather than a democratic revolution. So Borodin was literally chased out of China. That was the one and only time the Chinese government appealed to any single government for help or assistance. Since then we have appealed to a number of other governments for collaboration against fascist Japan and we have had some help. We are not appealing to the United States as a country to help China as a country. We are appealing to all countries who are anti-fascist to help the Chinese get rid of the Japanese enemy. After that the question becomes one of domestic rivalry.

Cassidy—I should like to make one point. The comintern has now been dissolved. Brother Borodin is now sitting in Moscow as an editor of the English language newspaper there. There is no direct cooperation of Russians and Chinese communists, and that's one more proof that there is not much to fear from international communism.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Strike Two" On Hara Kiri

Allied military commanders, seeking to win the victory over Japan with the greatest possible economy of the lives of our fighting men, face a double-edged problem. They must kill as many Japs as possible; they must induce as many Japs as possible to consent to live. On the results of both stratagems hangs the hope of early victory.

By

HERBERT COREY

IN the final days on Okinawa our soldiers took the most considerable bag of Japanese prisoners to be reported in the East. Lines marched in waving handkerchiefs and other bits of white cloth. They were not bowed down with shame. If they had lost any face they did not manifest. They came in grinning. Some of them acted as though they wanted to shake hands.

It would be easy at this point to write in some acidulous reflections about the Japanese.

It seems of greater value to examine the Japanese soldier and his suicide and surrender tactic. At this same period on Okinawa hundreds of him lept off cliffs into the sea or touched off hand grenades in their own faces or howled "Banzai" in suicide charges. In this they behaved as well trained, thoroughly indoctrinated, soaked in tradition Japanese should do. They were not hysterical or scared silly or out of control at all. Their thinking seems twisted to us. Perhaps if we really understood we would honor them.

The surrender of the other hundreds on Okinawa may be of great significance.

The surrendering hundreds may have been touched by American propaganda. We have no sure way of knowing. Perhaps they were only the weaklings who could not stand the constant hammering of the guns. It is permissible to hope that those who surrendered had been affected by the western way of thinking. The heirs of generations who had been taught that suicide is not only an admirable but a very useful finish they might have begun to think for themselves:

"To blow one's top" they might have said, "is what American soldier calls hooey. Honorable ancestors will not get dividends out of it. We will continue to live—western fashion."

If that new thought moved them thousands of American lives will be saved during the fighting to come. The end of the war will be drawn nearer. Their own people will be saved intolerable suffering. In support of this hope—it can be nothing more than a hope at this time—two stories will be told. Their significance is that if the reflections based on them prove to be well founded not only will the war be shortened but the Japanese people may be ready to take a short step on the path that leads back to civilization.

This is the first of the two.

Japanese warlords have forbidden the playing of baseball in the empire. But back in the interior, where the warlords do not function so well, the people are playing baseball just as ever. They like it. Baseball has opened a new thought to them.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They have seen opposing teams fight all over the lot while playing a game and then share the showers at the end and ride back to the hotel in the same bus, friendly as so many pups in a basket. Baseball has so far moderated the grim Japanese thinking that the warlords have ruled it out as softening and subversive. They want their men to fight to the last man and kill themselves rather than surrender. As a matter of military policy they have made the tale of the 47 Ronin almost Japan's national gospel. The 47 avenged their murdered chief.

Then they killed themselves.

In the United States the Hatfields and McCoys carried on a bigger and better feud for years. The rest of us thought they were making fools of themselves. By and by they agreed. The other day another Hatfield married another McCoy.

Japs Are Tough Fighters

IF the Japanese soldier can be convinced that it is better to surrender when he has been definitely and conclusively licked, then it is two strikes on Hara Kiri. And because he is a very good soldier indeed that will save the lives of our men. It is sheer, gibbering idiocy to say that he is not a good soldier, nor is it a compliment to our own men to suggest they have been destroying armies made up of wooden-headed little chumps. We have been killing them at the rate of six and eight and ten to one, because our weapons are better and our generalship has been infinitely better and our navy has been able to pour thousands of tons of high explosives on their ground positions and our air force has swept their planes out of the air. The Jap lacks the fine resilience and ingenuity of the American.

But don't let anyone tell you that he isn't a good soldier, because he is. It is folly not to give full credit to an enemy.

The kamikaze planes have been giving us plenty of trouble. A pilot is locked in the cockpit of what is in effect a flying bomb. He hasn't a chance to live. He smashes his deadly load on his target and signs off. For some queer reason we affect —we civilians affect—a kind of condescension toward the kamikaze pilots. We think of them as poor nuts who fly their planes full of saki and heathen devotion and always speak of them as fanatics. In our book an enemy who fights that way is always a fanatic. His opposite number on our side is a hero. Remember Colin Kelly and the battleship he hit square amidships, and Torpedo 8 and the boys who went out knowing they would not come back.

That is sure-fire heroism on either side. And not fanaticism.

Here is the second story.

A Japanese colonel was captured by a doughboy. He had not surrendered. The doughboy clipped him over the ear with the butt of his rifle, having his eye on the Samurai sword the colonel carried. When the colonel had been revived and swabbed off it developed that he spoke good English. Really good English. He had been a clerk in San Francisco. He talked freely to the American colonel—which seems to be the habit of captured Japanese—because he proposed to kill himself at the first opportunity. He had been disgraced by capture, he said, and he did not want to live. The American tried to cheer him up:

"I have a fine two-way radio here," he said, "and I'll let you talk to Tokio. Say what you please. I don't sabe Japanese. Maybe Tokio will let you talk to your own family. They'll comfort you—"

The Japanese colonel seized a stool and smashed the radio.

"I can never speak to my family again. If they were to find that I am still alive they would never mention my name. If I were to go home they would not look at me. I can never go back to Japan. Only if I kill myself can my honor be saved."

The American colonel lighted his pipe.

"Listen," he said. "You've seen the way our men fight. You've seen our weapons. You know what our ships and planes can do. Don't you know that Japan cannot win?"

"Oh, yes," said the Japanese. "Japan hasn't a chance."

"Then you know that the civilian population will surrender when we march in with our millions?"

"Oh, yes," said the Japanese. "The civilians will have no option."

"Then if you are surrendered and they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are surrendered you are all on the same level and can start fresh. Why get yourself all worked up this way?"

Three weeks later the American returned from a mission and his second in command met him with a grin.

"What in God's name did you do to these 700 Japs in the pen before you went away? They are the most friendly, happy, cooperative folks you ever saw. Can't do enough for us. Funny thing, too—they all want to radio home."

Buckner Tried Arguments

THE conclusion is that if we can get our ideas over to the Japanese some of them will abandon their suicidal notions. Instead of dying unpleasantly they will surrender when they see the battle is definitely lost. That would be a gain to both sides. The fighting on Okinawa continued at terrific cost long after any competent Japanese officer could see that the Americans were bound to win. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, Jr. tried to get the Japanese who had been holding up his line to come in and they would not. We have been successful to some extent. No other country has more radios to the thousand of population than Japan. They are cheap affairs, but very good, and obtainable in every department store. Four or five channels have now been cleared for our OWI news and arguments are being poured in almost hourly. Captain Ellis Mark Zacharias (Annapolis, 5 battle stars, 55 years old), with the official title of "Spokesman of the United States Government," broadcasts once each week to Japan, first in Japanese and then in English. He speaks Japanese fluently and is able to address former friends in an intimate way. It is apparent from the cantrips of the Japanese announcers that he has them worried.

The day may come when the Japanese people and the men of the services may realize that not death but life holds the greater promise.

The men who surrendered at Okinawa may be the vanguard of a new movement. The Japanese soldier expects to die, either in battle or by his own hand in preference to surrender. In the opinion of Mr. Vicente Villamin, the eminent Filipino lawyer, now a resident of Los Angeles, the Japanese soldiers dare not confide in each other, for a suggestion of discontent would be punished as treason. Villamin finds frequent suggestions that they are thoroughly fed up on the war, but accept inevitable death with a gloomy realism.

To induce them to accept life rather than death, however, involves a complete overturn of their present philosophy. Suicide has been the honorable way out since the remotest antiquity. Unhappy lovers leap into volcano craters hand-in-hand. Men who have failed in business kill themselves. Aristocrats make a ceremony of hara kiri, attended by two sword-bearing seconds. One beheads the victim as soon as he has made the second and upward cut in his abdomen and the other second stands by as a guard of honor.

Generals who have been defeated in battle and admirals who have seen their ships sunk evade future dishonor in this way. Recently an order was issued forbidding the self-murder of ranking officers. Too many were going out. The lower classes do not bother with the ritual of suicide, but the end is the same. A man charged with a crime, knowing himself to be innocent, but unable to produce convincing proof, takes the way of "honorable dispatch." This clears his name, no matter what evidence may be found against him. In old New England we had a somewhat similar formula. If the witch drowned she wasn't a witch.

Thirty years ago the army took advantage of this—we call it morbid—willingness of the Japanese people to die by their own hands.

Self-murder restored the army to power, boxed up the Emperor, made the Foreign Office into a set of Charley McCarthys, helped to bring about World War the Second, and ruined Japan.

About 1850 the merchants and industrialists of Japan—at this time distinctly little people—began to get the upper hand of the Samurai caste. These were the warriors, the two-sword men, who dressed in ceremonial robes and wore wicked mustaches, and were ineffective and ridiculous in everything but killing. The little men were aided by the Emperor Meiji who was pro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

western, forward-looking, and pretty generally a keen-minded man. Emperors had not been amounting to much in Japan. One of them continued to be a God and an Emperor, but got his bread by begging on the streets. Meiji, with the aid of the little men and the merchants, put the swashbucklers in a small and tight place, gave standing to the Emperor business, and faked a turn toward democracy by setting up the Diet.

After the Russo-Japanese war the Japanese moved further toward modernity and westernism. They sought world trade, they became manufacturers on a large scale, and they reduced the army to impotence. The national position was that the army might be useful as an instrument in the struggle for wealth and big business, but that it must be kept on about the social scale of a porter or clerk. Yet the army was the descendent and inheritor of the sword-rattling Samurai. Its officers resented their decline in prestige bitterly. Many took off their uniforms at this time, because the people held them in contempt, but the best brains set about finding a way back to their lost supremacy.

They found it in suicide.

That statement is an exaggeration, of course.

But from the early 1930's the army has worked so diligently at making itself a part of the fabric of Japanese life that Gen. Sadao Araki, one-time Minister of War, was justified in declaring that the army is the people. The boy begins his training in the army when he enters school at the age of six. He is marched and drilled, he waves flags at parades, and is taught to look forward to life in the army. When he is a little older he enrolls in a Youth Training School and in five years gets about 800 hours of drill, rifle practice, and indoctrination.

It is glorious to die for the Emperor. The most shameful fate possible is surrender. The disgrace cannot be wiped out by suicide, although it can be lessened. The man killed in battle, or who kills himself, may intercede with the Gods for the good of his family. The death of a son is not mourned by the family—not as westerners mourn—for he has not only done his duty, but he has in effect become a family asset. When the boy goes to war he expects to die. No doubt he feels natural reluctance to say goodbye to the good earth but he knows that he is achieving his destiny. His mother surrenders him to death when he marches away. In many families a tablet is immediately placed upon the wall.

"Our son," it states in effect, "is dead."

To westerners the recent revelation that Japanese officers ordered that helpless wounded be killed when a position was evacuated, and that those wounded able to walk should proceed under the direction of an officer to a place set aside for mass suicide is not merely horrible; it is savagery incarnate; it is bestial beneath any degradation of a beast. But to the army-trained Japanese it is not merely natural; it is the fulfillment of fate; it is the end to be desired. The loss of honor has been evaded; the shame of surrender has been escaped; once safely dead the soldier can get about his task of intercession for his family.

This indoctrination by the army, from the time the boy is six years old until he is dead, is the explanation of the incredible courage—fanaticism if you like—with which the Japanese soldiers have fought.

Psychological Warfare

THE task of the Americans charged with altering the Japanese mentality by means of what has been dubbed psychological warfare is an immense one. The Japanese esteem death and they probably could not be educated away from the myriad influences that have shaped them.

The belief is that the Japanese soldier realizes that the war cannot be won. If he can be taught to carry his thinking through to the point attained by the Japanese colonel who smashed the radio, and realize that not all the civilian population of Japan will die rather than surrender, and that he may therefore return home with his face unblemished after he has thrown down his rifle, a wave of surrender may lighten the task ahead.

Who knows what goes on in the minds of the Japanese? Our best hope is that we may win them to an attachment to life, at least as great as their willingness to commit hara kiri. That would be a good result, for them and for us.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russia and America

A Critical Partnership

BY

MAX LERNER

NOTHING is clearer than that Russia and America stand now, in mid-twentieth century, as the two towering world powers, and that the world's destiny is summed up in the anodes and cathodes of their relations. History is often complex and indecisive. Yet it has managed in the past quarter century, with an almost terrifying simplification, to strip away everything that might have obscured the new polarity of these two great peoples and of these two alone.

By manpower and resources and their skilled use, by geographical position in relation to land-mass in one case and sea lanes in the other and airways in both, by armed might and economic power and war potential, by ideology and prestige, by the gusto and assurance of their people, these two promise to be the colossi in whose bestriding shadow the world's future will be enacted for better or for worse. They form the first principles and the end terms in the calculations of diplomats. When they agree, an international conference moves; when they do not, it comes to a standstill. All other nations, even the other powers called "great," take up their world position in relation to these two; to lean on one or the other as ally, to deploy or manipulate its strength, to mediate between both.

The two giants among the nations of the future have every reason to pull together, frank in the give-and-take that is based on mutual goodwill.

These two powers have the choice of working together or of struggling over the spoils of world imperium. If they choose the latter, while it is not necessarily true that a new world war would be imminent, the world would be in a more delicate balance-of-power equilibrium than ever before, with almost any shift or quarrel capable of upsetting the balance. If they form a working partnership to underwrite the world's peace, there is no power in the world that would dare break it.

Even in such a working partnership there would, of course, be an element of balance-of-power and an element of empire. When two states overshadow the world in their strength, each is likely to exert a polar attraction on other states, and each cluster is likely to assess the other to determine whether its strength is so great as to be intolerable, or its weakness so evident as to invite aggression. But these elements of empire can be held in check, and the elements of balance-of-power can become harmless, within the framework of a larger world-security structure which both powers underwrite.

II

WILL they, however, underwrite it? The greatest danger lies in the chance

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that once more, as after World War I, the statesmen and thinkers of our time will allow themselves to be split into two worlds instead of becoming one. Any student who reads the history of the past quarter-century with insight will know that the great reason for the failure of the last peace was not only the lack of power in the League and not only the failure of America to adhere to it, but something far more decisive.

Crucially it was the fact that revolutionary Russia was excluded from the peace settlement. The shadow that hung over Versailles was the shadow of the Soviets and of Lenin as their creator. The Western world was swept by a *grand peur,* unexampled since the French Revolution, and the function of the peace settlement was less to break the German enemy's power forever than to build a sea-wall against the Bolshevist waves. A new social system and a new world outlook were in the forming, but both were excluded from partnership with those of the Western Powers.

The great fact about Versailles was that Lenin was not there except as a spectre that was haunting not only Europe but America as well.

And what was true of the Versailles settlement was true also of the birth of the League of Nations and the first decade of its history, as is made amply apparent by the documentation of K. Zilliacus' history of that tragic period, *The Mirror of the Past* (London, Gollancz, 1944).

What happened was that the world was split into two—a capitalist world holding onto its power with a fierceness embittered by its fear, and a socialist world obsessed with its capitalist encirclement and seeking to break it, first by world-revolutionary adventurism and then by a socialist isolationism.

This cleavage, more than any other factor, including the world depression of the 1920's, was what gave fascism its chance to make a thrust at world power. More than any other factor, it was what made the Western democracies pursue their appeasement course for so long in the hope of raising a fascist world that would redress the balance of the capitalist-socialist world. And more than any other factor, it was what induced Russia—after desperate efforts to forge a structure of collective security—to recoil into its isolationism and make a security pact with the Germans. The new fascist power groups in Europe and the Far East drove their wedge right down the center of the world's collective will: but the cleavage was already there to give the wedge its golden chance of success.

III

THERE are those who, whether out of their fears or their lust for power, would have liked to see the same process repeated after World War II. And for a short period following the German collapse and also President Roosevelt's death in 1945, it seemed as if their expectations might be fulfilled. From the balance of power standpoint, the big facts were the unexpected completeness of the crushing of German power and the unexpected strength of Russia. The whole power framework within which statesmen and military leaders had carried on their calculations for decades was gone, and in its place was a new one whose measure men had not yet learned to take. The months that followed were one of the great crisis periods of world history.

But those who thought that history was swinging back into the same trajectory as in 1919 were not thinking in terms of development. History has moved on, for both Russia and America, and for the world. Russia is no longer rejected and despised, as she was when the Western statesmen thought that a few half-hearted efforts to help the White generals would overtopple the new government, nor as she was when she was cast out of the League of Nations. The Revolution, whatever else may be said of its other phases, has come to fulfillment in terms of national power in a world framework.

The nation has been tested as an economic and military going concern, and it has displayed more cohesive force than any other. It has come through the most fiery tempering that any nation has experienced in modern times, and both its power and prestige are greater than ever in Russia's history. Economically Russia has borrowed the industrial techniques of the West and developed them, if not within a classless and stateless society, then within a new set

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of class forms and power relations. The old revolutionary zeal and the old revolutionary threat have been replaced by the tenacious realism of men who know what they want, and who want something that is neither world revolution nor the status quo, but a consolidation of new forces in a new world.

Nor is the America of 1945 the America of a quarter-century ago. It is an America in which isolationism as a way of thought has been so completely blasted by events that the remaining force of it must masquerade under new guises and garbs; an America whose army is the most powerful in its history, whose navy covers the seven seas, whose air force darkens the skies, whose national economic product challenges comparison with the entire rest of the world put together, and whose economic potential is limited only by the arts of planning and the daring of the collective will. It is an America which has learned that the world is a closed circle, that world products as well as world markets are crucial for its own economic survival, and that if nations do not become economic partners, the world is turned into an arena for fratricide. It is finally an America which has been under progressive administrations for almost a generation, which has learned new strategies of economic control within the framework of capitalism, and whose labor groups have shown signs of rising to a consciousness of their political function.

IV

I DO not say that this Russia and this America will inevitably use their massive strength for the world's good, or that they will infallibly have the wit and the survival instinct to form a partnership. I do say there is a good chance, if we know how to take it. Both Russian and American foreign policy have shown a dualism which reveals within each nation both a nationalist and an internationalist potential. Each nation still contains within itself both the seeds of isolationism and the seeds of collective world action. Outside a world security structure, a set of false moves by one could easily precipitate similar moves by the other, with the accelerated pace of a vicious circle. Within such a structure, however, there is every reason why the affirmative, rather than the negative impulses, should find fulfillment.

Let us set out these reasons concretely. Both these powers have been part of the greatest military coalition in history, and were able through it to achieve what neither could have accomplished singly. Both are still held by the memory of this war collaboration, and impressed by its possibilities for peacetime collaboration. Both have immense stakes in keeping the phoenix of fascist power from rising once more out of its ashes. Both have an interest in helping to revive the economic energies of a shattered Europe. Both need a period of enduring peace in order to wrestle with their internal economic problems—Russia in order to lift the living standards of its people, America in order to find a method for economic stability and full employment even in peacetime.

The big question is whether these things that tie them together will prove stronger than the things that tear them apart—their divergent systems of thought and the natural jealousy of two huge powers in a power world. Many have seen the recent tensions at San Francisco and in the dissensions over European governmental settlements as a portent of ultimate failure. Yet there is a strong chance that this is to misread them. Perhaps, paradoxically, something has already been gained when there is a framework within which the tensions do get felt and within which the quarrels do take place.

The tragic fact about Versailles and the early history of the League was that Russia was not there. The tensions were subterranean, the quarrels did not have a chance to get aired, and the cleavages by which the world became two worlds took place with democratic world opinion helpless to prevent it. Russia has re-entered not only the concert of powers but the circle of discussion. That re-entry, along with America's re-entry, is in itself a fact of major weight.

There are, of course, immense dangers that remain. I have said above that even the best sort of partnership will involve residual elements of world empire and of world balance of power. That partnership has not yet been achieved, and both im-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perialist and balance-of-power politics are still in the ascendant. We have the beginnings of international action, but thus far much of it has been in the realm of rhetoric, and it is the folklore rather than its reality which has held sway. Only a world security structure can possibly become powerful enough to contain within itself the tensions of these two polar powers, or to channel their divergences harmlessly. But we have made a start, if only an imperfect and fractional one, on building such a structure.

To many, the crucial question will be whether a huge capitalist power and a huge socialist power can coexist within the same world framework. There is no inherent reason why they should not, provided each of them is stable within. And their instability, if it emerges, will proceed not from the fact that they are capitalist or socialist, but from the possibility that each social form will be bungled. Fascism necessarily and inherently was a system of world imperialism and of racist hatred and clash.

That is not true of either socialism or capitalism. Russia has shown that a socialist state can solve its problems of production and employment. What remains to be shown is whether it can also solve its problems of political power and freedom. There are signs of a dissolvent force within the totalitarianism of Russian politics which will make the government more sensitive to world opinion and give it an impulse toward realizing some of the democratic implications of the 1936 Constitution.

But what is true of Russia is equally true of America. If our internal instability leads to imperialist adventures, it will be because we do not have the will to bring our property institutions under popular control. An American capitalist economy, which uses planning and fiscal controls for full employment and which has enough rationality to see the need for economic partnership with the rest of the world, will not be one that leads to world imperialism. But an anarchic and planless capitalist economy will generate forces, both within itself and in the rest of the world, that will break the bounds of a peace structure.

Neither of the two great powers needs to accept the social and economic forms of the other. Each of them can continue a critical attitude toward those forms. But while the partnership need not exclude criticism, it must be a partnership and not a tug of war, a framework of order and not a jungle of anarchy.

V

BY the nature of its economic system and its social cohesiveness, Russia exercises an enormous attraction on the new governments which are being rebuilt all over the world. By its political freedom and its high living standards, America exercises a similar attraction on them. One holds out to them the hope of economic order and full employment. The other holds out the hope of political scope and the amenities of life. If the two forces clash with each other on a world scale, that clash will be reflected internally within each of the new nations, and the resolution of it may take generations and even centuries. If, however, the two powers can develop a functioning critical partnership, it will be a symbol to the peoples of the world that they can effect within their own societies a fusion of the two principles for which America and Russia stand.

If that can be accomplished, it would not lead to a golden age, but it would spell the end of the pathos and the poverty, the bloodshed and the tyranny of the modern world.

Permanent Picture Section of Free World

Following the publication in our last issue of a special picture section on San Francisco, we have received many letters from our readers suggesting that FREE WORLD adopt the principle of a permanent picture section in the magazine. While this issue goes to press, we are completing plans to present pictures from all over the world in every issue of the magazine presenting the birth of the new world.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

BASIC PROBLEMS OF BIG THREE UNITY

AT the moment of writing these lines a wave of optimism about the success of the San Francisco Conference has succeeded a deep depression. While it is likely that a charter of sorts would have emerged in any case, whatever the attitude of the Big Three toward such issues as that of the veto power in the Security Council, the final concession made by Russia will give us a charter which does in considerable degree resolve the hesitations of the small and middle states.

The significance of the incident is not merely that it has eased the world crisis, but also that it has demonstrated Russia takes cognizance of world opinion and can modify her policy at times to meet it. That fact has repercussions which go far beyond the single matter of the veto powers.

If the San Francisco Conference has done nothing else, it has at least proved once more that the establishment of a world organization, even though it be in the broadest outline a mere skeleton, is no easy matter. It is a task which encounters immense and baffling difficulties and will demand on the part of all peoples patience, a readiness to accept less than each thinks himself entitled to, open-mindedness, some capacity to see why the other fellow acts as he does and why his opinions may differ from ours. There will be times when it will be necessary to tolerate those different opinions and wait for time and experience to reconcile opposing views.

All of which is trite and hackneyed enough; but nonetheless neglected.

When, therefore, Russia demonstrates that she is ready to modify in response to world opinion the line she takes at first we have very solid grounds for encouragement.

But we should note this: If Russia is to take cognizance of the opinion of the West on certain matters, that opinion must be expressed; and the fact that there is a degree of unanimity in the West in regard to certain features of Russian policy must be demonstrated. Yet some critics have objected alike to the expression of opinion or the demonstration of Western unanimity.

Thus, when the United States and the British Commonwealth found themselves in agreement, as in the interpretation of the Yalta undertakings, while Russia was at times hesitant and difficult to persuade, a number of commentators insisted that this tendency toward Anglo-American agreement was dangerous because likely to fortify Russian suspicions of the Western bourgeois democracies. Indeed Mr. Stettinius has been sharply criticized on the ground that this ready agreement of the United States and the other English-speaking nations was tending to lose for this country her position as an impartial "mediator" between Britain and Russia.

If, as was undoubtedly the case, the agreement of the United States and Britain on some of the constitutional questions under discussion was merely part of the general attitude of Western nations toward those questions, it is a little difficult to see how the critics would suggest that the Anglo-American agreement be avoided. Ought the United States and Britain to have tried to find grounds of disagreement in order that Russia's suspicions of an anti-Soviet front should not be increased? And if they had disagreed with each other would Russia have been convinced that the West was unanimous in desiring certain concessions? And if Russia had been convinced that the West was deeply divided on the points where officially she was subject to criticism, would that fact have added to her dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

position to make concessions of any kind?

We may be sure that agreement with Russia would not have been facilitated by disagreement between the United States and Britain.

NEVERTHELESS, the impression one gathers from a good deal of commentary in this country is that the more the United States is able to dissociate itself from Britain and proceed independently, the greater the chance of keeping the Big Three together, and particularly the greater the chance of agreement with Russia. But in fact there is no evidence at all that Russian policy will be more readily adjusted to Western views, as it has been in some degree in the veto matter, if American and British policy diverge.

It has been a widely held view in Russia, as political writing in Russia this last twenty years abundantly shows, that there can be no permanent agreement between the United States and Britain, that their interests, particularly their economic interests, conflict too deeply for such agreement. More than one Russian leader has freely prophesied war between America and Britain. Very few in either Britain or America in fact share that view. But is it going to add to the unity of the Big Three or Four or Five to encourage that Russian assumption or conviction?

It has been entirely wise to make certain allowances for the course of Russian policy in the Baltic States, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria, and occupied Germany—on the ground that her main preoccupation in view of all that she has suffered must be about her security. If, in order to be sure she will never again be exposed to attack, her policy is a bit "excessive," criticism must be tempered in view of her fears and misgivings.

ALL this is to the good. It is entirely sound reasoning to assume that the supreme consideration in the case of any great nation will be survival, and security. That, indeed, is the motive common to every physical organism. It is rooted in the irrepressible fight for existence.

But the curious fact is that in the interpretation of British policy this motive never seems to be taken into account by the type of commentator just indicated. Very careful search among such critics of British imperialism has failed to reveal one single case where the explanation so readily offered in the case of Russia is forthcoming to explain British policy in the areas where the security of the Empire and Commonwealth is involved.

Why is this? Is it that Russia is so much more vulnerable than Great Britain? That Russia can be destroyed so much more easily? That Russian fears have a basis in material difficulties of defense which do not exist in the case of Britain?

It is a question worth examining if only because it never seems to be examined.

Russia today represents, together with her own territory and that which she dominates in the area between the Stettin-Trieste line and the shores of the Pacific, the greatest land mass of any nation in the world. This land mass contains within itself resources which make Russia as nearly self-sufficient as any nation in the world, more self-sufficient even than the United States. A highly centralized government has managed to give to her industrialization and to the use of those resources for defensive purposes a centralized direction.

Russia's population, differing in this respect from that of the United States and Western Europe, is a rapidly expanding one: Moscow today dominates populations in Europe and in Asia which cannot fall far short of three hundred millions. They are all populations which, like those of China and of India, show rapid growth. The distances in this area are such that invasions of the past have been swallowed up in the vast spaces: it was the case in the Napoleonic invasion as in others. These geographical and material facts render Russia today as nearly impregnable as any state in the world.

Compare this with the position of Great Britain and the British communities scattered over the world. The people of the British Isles cannot even feed themselves, however they may develop their agriculture. They have to import the raw materials for the manufactured products by which alone they can secure bread. The coal which has been the basis of Britain's industrial economy in the past begins to suffer from the law of diminishing returns:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the best and most easily accessible mine seams have been worked out.

When Britain's industries are exposed to bombardment the degree to which they can be removed or distributed is strictly limited. England has no Urals beyond which manufactures can be moved out of range of aerial bombardment. This is a fact which exposes Britain in the tomorrow of the rocket and robot bomb and pilotless plane to virtual extermination. London, it is true, did stand up, but only because the worst phase of aerial bombardment, that of the robots and the rockets, had hardly begun when the German armies began to suffer defeat. If the technical advances made by Germany had been a little accelerated so that the type of bombing which Britain had to face at the end would have been meted out by the enemy at the beginning, then London and the ports and manufacturing centers would have been reduced to mere heaps of rubble.

The British population is aware of this today. If tomorrow a great continental enemy reaches the shores of the North Sea — Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France — and is able to establish the launching sites for the mass-produced robot bombs, then it is extremely difficult to see how Britain could possibly escape extinction. No retreat into vast spaces is possible. The island is densely populated, one of the most densely populated areas of the world. The only effective reply to this type of bombardment is the destruction of the launching sites. But the launching sites, as we know, would be mainly underground and among the few things secure from aerial destruction. Retaliation would not serve Britain's purpose of defense because the targets of a whole continent would be so much more dispersed than would be the concentrated target of Britain.

In other words, if Russia is the least vulnerable, Britain is today perhaps the most vulnerable of nations.

Yet the implication of much of recent criticism of Britain is that she is behaving with great recklessness and to some extent dragging the United States after her into an attitude of truculence toward Russia. In view of the situation just outlined, the British people must have suddenly become afflicted with collective madness, to entertain for a moment the idea of war against Russia. For if we are to have a third world war, with Russia opposed to Britain, then Britain will be extinguished before even the United States is hurt. It is difficult also to see how any critic should suppose that responsible folk in Britain are unaware of this altogether too obvious fact.

THERE is a further basic fact concerning British policy which seems commonly overlooked. In considering the meaning of such a term as "the British policy," we should have in mind that Britain is concerned with the security of a community which, unlike the Russian or the American community, does not find its home in a contiguous geographical bloc, but is scattered over the world in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. The defense of that community must rest upon free and uninterrupted communication between Britain and those overseas nations with which she is associated in mutual aid for survival but which she does not govern. What is described too often as sheer imperialism is a determination on the part of those communities to make sure of the means by which they can be held together, the maintenance of lines resting upon such strong points as Gibraltar and Malta, bases in the eastern Mediterranean for the protection of the Suez Canal and in the Far East, making possible the contacts with Australia and New Zealand.

The awareness of all this, again, has not been lessened by the experience of the war. The British know that but for the existence of the Commonwealth and Empire they could not possibly have held out as they did after the surrender of France in July, 1940. As Churchill reminded the Germans at that time, if the island were invaded, as nearly all feared that it would be, and were overwhelmed, then at least the British fleet and government could retreat to Canada. A Canada which, like Britain, had already entered the war, was affording means for a great plan for training pilots making invaluable contributions in materials of war and affording indispensable aid in keeping open the Atlantic lanes.

All that was involved therein helped the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British people to stand up in that fateful year. But there was more. The British garrison in Egypt, re-enforced at the very moment that Britain itself was threatened with invasion, made it possible to prevent the linking up of German and Japanese power through the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean. Among the factors which made possible the holding of the fort in Britain was the existence of this world system of strong points and intercommunication of free nations that encircled the earth.

It is hardly necessary at this stage to point out that a great deal more than the security of Britain was concerned. Britain was to become the bridgehead by which German Europe was to be invaded from the West and Germany overcome. The Mediterranean strong points were part of the means by which India was to be preserved as an American rather than a Japanese base, and defended from the degree of invasion China has suffered.

If "security" is to explain Russian conduct, it cannot altogether be excluded from the explanation of British. More particularly, since the world system which enabled Britain to stand up after the fall of France and before the entrance of Russia into the war as the result of the attack upon her by Germany is a system which has assuredly played its part in enabling the United States to meet and overcome alike its enemy in Europe and its enemy in Asia.

Fascist Danger Not Dead, Say Readers

That the end of the war in Europe did not mark the end of fascism was the view expressed by large numbers of FREE WORLD readers replying to this month's American Opinion Poll. (See Page 51 for replies of the general public other than readers.)

Our readers' letters demonstrate how much serious thinking is being devoted to the future of our own and other countries, and the degree to which they think it will be necessary to guard against a rebirth of fascist ideas in the postwar period.

Readers' comments divide themselves into discussion of the underlying causes of fascism; the countries where it may be expected to have its widest postwar development; and the measures which must be taken to cope with it, even after all fighting in World War II comes to a final halt.

Defining fascism and its origins, one correspondent remarks: "Fascism is not a new cult. Its origin goes much deeper than either Hitler or Mussolini. It goes back to the Roman Empire. Hitler and Mussolini merely streamlined it. The acceleration winds that blew under German storms distributed its seeds throughout the civilized world. Some took root and will flower and blossom, or wither and fade."

Another writes: "Fascism is but a name given to an ideology of superiority which uses military might, diplomatic deceit, torture and oppression to force its way into the world scene." Still another says: "Fascism is not peculiar to the German soul, but is the political expression of facets potential in every human soul. It requires eternal vigilance, *including self-vigilance.*"

Analyzing basic causes of present-day fascism, readers' letters contain such comments as these: "Wherever there is advanced capitalism, private accumulation of wealth will necessarily be accompanied by the danger of fascism in some form or other." And again: "Social and economic unrest, especially the results of unemployment and depression-to-come, will furnish fruitful ground for big business and demagogues to exploit the hatred of minorities, to hold down labor and stifle democratic trends." A third person writes: "The fear of communism by the imperialist countries will not permit fascism to die." A fourth summarizes the causes of fascism in these words: "They are 1) cartels; 2) Economy of scarcity; 3) Unemployment; 4) Depression chaos; 5) Force; 6) Flag-draped demagogues.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nation-Wide

American Opinion Poll

In one of the round tables published in this issue, Orson Welles refers to "the cost of fascism's existence," and raises the question whether a free world—the free nations of the world—could again survive the necessity of paying such a price for liberty.

That cost is expressed today in the blotting out of the lives of many millions of soldiers of many nations, in the destruction of the finest centers of civilization, in the mass annihilation of civilians, the warping of young lives, the disruption of the very bases of human tradition and progress in democratic family and community life.

Has the scourge passed, with the passing of German military might? Will it have died completely with the downfall of the Japanese warlords? It is the better part of wisdom for freedom-loving humanity to take stock now, at this middle period between the war in the West and the greatly accelerated war in the Far East. It is well to see how much fascism has been destroyed—and where in all the world it still remains to be destroyed. For if the deadly fascist virus is allowed to live, whether in Europe, or in Asia, or in the New World, our victories will prove mockeries, and the latent infection will again spread through the arteries of the nations, asking a price of the next generation as it has of ours.

In the light of these considerations, the estimates of Americans regarding the continuing danger of fascism are extremely important.

Read the answers on these pages and compare them thoughtfully with your own judgments regarding the continuing menace of fascism.

A monthly poll of American public opinion, conducted exclusively for* Free World, *by the National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver. The survey covers a nationwide cross section of all the American people, scientifically selected to represent each group in its correct proportion in the population.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE QUESTION

Now that Germany has been beaten, do you think there is any real danger that its fascist ideas of government will spring up again somewhere in the world to threaten democracy, or do you think its fascist ideas will largely die out?

The Answers:

60%	**Say there is real danger that fascist ideas of government will spring up again to threaten democracy.**
25%	**Think fascist ideas will die out now that Germany has been defeated.**
	(In each of the above groups a small number of persons, totaling in all 4%, pointed out that there is real danger unless the democratic nations are watchful.)
15%	**Do not know whether there is danger that fascism will spring up again.**

Analysis of the Poll Results

Comparison of results obtained in specific groups of the population yields many interesting sidelights. Of white collar workers 66% saw a real danger of fascism after this war; while only 55% of manual laborers saw such a danger. Of persons at the college level 71% thought fascism might remain; at the high school level 61%; of those with grammar school education or less, 50%. Persons in large cities gave a percentage of 59%, as compared with 61% in small towns and 52% on farms who felt the danger was a real one. Women showed a small plurality over men in giving this answer, and so did younger persons over persons beyond the age of forty.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Additional Query on the Fascist Danger

Because of the extreme gravity of the issue, the National Opinion Research Center asked an additional question of the 60 per cent who thought there was real danger that fascism might spring up again. They were asked:

In what countries do you think there is any danger of these fascist ideas springing up?

Here are their answers to this question:

Germany	28%	**Other European countries**	8%
Argentina	13%	**Other South and Central American countries**	6%
Russia	9%	**The danger is anywhere, everywhere**	5%
Italy	8%	**Don't know where it might arise**	5%
Spain	7%		
U. S. A.	7%		
Japan	4%		
Great Britain	1%		

These percentages total more than 60 per cent because some of the persons queried mentioned several countries in which they saw a fascist danger.

While the answers indicate that most Americans regard Germany as the most likely center of any future fascism, it is interesting to note that sizable groups in the population are aware now of the possible dangers in such countries as Argentina and Spain. Indeed, 27 per cent of those with a college education who were interviewed named Argentina as a danger spot, while 17 per cent of the same group mentioned other Central or South American countries. The better educated groups, too, were more inclined than those with less education to see a potential fascist threat in the United States. Perhaps remarkable is the small percentage who see a future danger from Japanese fascism.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The August Poll

With the European war at an end, the problem of lend-lease comes up for serious reappraisal. There are some who assert that lend-lease aid to our Allies has the effect of increasing employment and prosperity at home, while others believe it is a drain on America's resources and wealth. FREE WORLD asked the National Opinion Research Center to conduct a nation-wide poll on lend-lease, the results of which will be published next month. Our readers are invited to participate in this poll by sending in their vote and their comments.

Question for August

If our government keeps on sending lend-lease materials, which we won't get paid for, to friendly countries for about three years after the war, do you think this will mean more jobs or fewer jobs for most Americans, or won't it make any difference?

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

I believe that if our Government keeps on sending lend-lease materials to friendly countries for about three years after the war, it will result in more jobs for Americans.....; fewer jobs.....; won't make any difference.....

(Check one of the above answers.)

Comments .....

.....

.....

Name .....

Address .....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Secret Enemy At San Francisco

BY

HARRY W. FLANNERY

Now is the time for every man to measure his own prejudices against unalterable truth, lest in opening the door of his heart to injustices against others, he find himself unable to close it against the swift onrush of evil forces that would destroy him and the democratic world on which his happiness relies.

"WHY that dirty little beggar! He's always bustin' in where he ain't got no place to be, loud and acting like I wasn't there at all."

He was one of a group of men around a table in the club car of a Pullman. One of the others nodded assent.

"Just like a Jew," he said.

You've heard variations of such remarks. You hear them in the conversation after dinner in rich homes; as two women chat when meeting in the corner grocery, when businessmen meet at luncheons; as servicemen gather in bases or on shipboard all over the world. You travel through resort sections and read signs outside hotels: "No Jews Allowed." Advertisements by employers seeking help say, "Gentiles Preferred."

At San Francisco we were trying to build against war and for peace and security but at the same time in all the rest of the nation there was growing up a hatred and suspicion that can destroy all that is projected by the United Nations. It is not sufficient that we back the work of San Francisco with everything within us, but absolutely essential that we also be a United States and a United Nations against this spirit that can make everything done at San Francisco come to nothing.

One of the most extensive anti-Semitic campaigns this country has ever experienced has developed in the United States since the beginning of the war. It does no good to go whistling along our way, pretending it does not exist. Rather let us face the fact—let us see the viper and beat it down before its poisonous fangs sink into the veins of more unwary passersby.

Jews, too, may well open their eyes upon a sight that is not pretty, but is nonetheless real. They must not be like the Jews in Berlin who heard of outrages against their brethren in Poland, Austria and elsewhere, and said, "That is the Ost Juden, the eastern Jews, not we." They must not be like Hans Priwin of the executive committee of German Jews who, when told by Max Jordan of NBC not to pull any punches in his broadcast to the United States, nevertheless went on the air in the first days of Adolf Hitler to plead with his American listeners not to give credit to reports which made the outlook appear desperate.

I plead now with Jews and with all other Americans, not only for the sake of Jews, but for all of us. I ask that we rally against this and all other tendencies toward fascism that are arising in this country. We all need more calm reasoning and less emotional fanaticism for our own good. Those who kicked, spat upon and shot at Mussolini after he was no more than a dead, broken body did no harm to a man whose soul had flown, but they cruelly twisted their own souls.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Any man who halted his intemperate outbursts of vituperation long enough to think would know that the Jews cannot at the same time be the international bankers who control the finance of the world and the communists who would divide it; that they cannot be both inferior people and too damn clever for any good; those who work too hard and those who make a living off the work of others; those who try to shoulder their way into Gentile circles, and who keep too much to themselves.

Each of these charges is declared characteristic of a Jew by those who are the loudest in calling themselves Americans while doing the most to destroy this country. They talk of Jews controlling the money of the country without pausing to note that the seven largest banking houses in the United States are all Gentile and the eighth, Kuhn, Loeb and Company (partially Jewish), has but 2.88 per cent of the international banking business; without learning that of 93,000 bankers and banking officials in the United States, only 600 are Jews, and of forty members of the governing committees of the New York Stock Exchange, only three are Jews. These figures could be carried to greater detail, but in each case the conclusion is the same.

"But what," cries the gentleman who has wrapped the Stars and Stripes about him while he stamps upon the Constitution, "what about the Jews as communists? They're commies, all right. You can't answer me that one."

Well, the communist leaders are Earl Browder, William Foster, James Ford, Robert Minor, William Patterson, Ella Reeve Bloor, and they are not Jewish.

"So what? The Jews don't come out in the open, but they vote red—I know."

Well—authoritative, non-Jewish surveys, such as the one made by *Fortune*, have shown that even in cities with populations of several millions, only a tiny proportion are communists, and of these an insignificant number are Jewish. Altogther, the communist membership is measured in tens of thousands, Jews and non-Jews, while there are about five millions Jews in this country.

"All right, all right. But that's because the Jews do not expect to make the United States communist yet. But Stalin, Lenin, Molotov, all those guys are Jews. You can't tell me."

It's hard to tell you anything, I might reply, but let me say that every such statement can be challenged and refuted, if reference is made to available authoritative records. There you will find that Lenin was not a Jew, nor Stalin, nor Kalinin, nor Voroshilov, nor Molotov, nor almost any other Russian communist leader. Litvinov is. That's one. Of the nineteen commissars of the people in Russia four are Jews. In 1934 Stalin said the Communist Party had 900,000 members, of whom only 5 per cent were Jews. More recent figures from the anti-Bolshevist paper, *Pslednija Novosti*, in Paris give the percentage of Jews in the party as 4.34 per cent.

The Pattern Persists

THE chief point is that all such prejudiced charges are part of a pattern which persists though it has long ago been proved to be undemocratic. This pattern may be traced back to the Native Americans party, whose program, back in the nineteenth century, called for the elimination of all "foreigners" from office, and whose anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish demonstrations led to riots and death. It is the same sinister pattern followed by Adolf Hitler in his prejudice-inciting campaigns, which caused a blackout of civilization in Europe and subsequent systematic massacre on a horrifying scale unprecedented in the world's history.

We must be on guard against every lie, every slander which results in setting race against race, group against group—and the best weapon in this fight against fascist hatred is the plain, unvarnished, unprejudiced truth.

One most prevalent charge against the Jews is that they have shirked war service. Some Jews, like some Presbyterians, Catholics and agnostics, may have tried to escape combat service on the plea that their occupation was essential—on the farm, in the factory or in the office. But this attitude is not typical of Jews any more than of Presbyterians, Catholics and agnostics. It just happens that some persons have a tendency to say, when they are cheated by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a Jew, that all Jews cheat. They would not say because they were cheated by a Baptist means that all Baptists cheat. The same persons say when a white boy commits a crime that his environment was bad, but when a Negro commits the same crime, that he behaved in a manner characteristic of Negroes; or that when a Yankee is unkempt he is an exception, while when an Italian is dirty, that is typical.

The United States Government has not released statistics on the men in service in World War II according to their religions. But we know that although the percentage of Jews in this country in World War I was 3, the percentage of Jews in the Army and Navy was 4 and 5. That was partly because the draft operated more efficiently in the cities of the North and East, where most of the Jews lived; partly because there were fewer Jews in the exempt heavy industries, mining and engineering; and also because of the large number of Jewish volunteers, 18 per cent of the total of Jews in the service. Of the seventy-eight Congressional Medals of Honor, six went to Jews, more than 7 per cent. Jews on the death rolls were 5 per cent.

A Joke and an Answer

NOT long ago you may have heard the alleged joke that runs like this: "The first American soldier to kill a Jap was Michael Murphy, the first American bomber to sink a ship was Colin Kelly, the first American flier to bag a Jap plane was Edward O'Hara, and the first American to get four tires was Abie Cohen." But you may not know that more men bearing the name of Cohen enlisted in World War I from New York City than those of any other name, and that the Cohens are making a name for themselves in this war, too.

There's Sergeant Schiller Cohen of the Bronx, one of the most decorated flyers in the American services, with thirteen decorations; Captain Marion T. Cohen, of Belmar, New Jersey, one of the first seven men to receive the new Legion of Merit award for exceptionally distinguished service in the Navy; and Cohens who have won Purple Hearts and other awards in battles in all parts of the world, Cohens who have been prisoners of the Germans and have been prisoners of the Japanese.

Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy, a Catholic, has said: "Our action in respect to the Jews may well be considered a measure of our civilization."

It seems elementary, but is nevertheless necessary to point out that the United States is founded on the principle expressed in our Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

America's Future at Stake

THE United States has been built by men who came from all parts of the world, men of all creeds, colors and tongues, and it can continue to be great only if we remember and respect our time-tested past in moving toward our future. We must keep this in mind as we consider our attitude toward all Americans and toward all other peoples.

Henry Wallace has said: "Every Jew-baiter, every Catholic-hater, is a fascist at heart. . . . So are those who cultivate hate and distrust of Britain and Russia." As we eradicate all prejudice against the Jews, we must also guard against attacks made on Negroes; against attacks made on Japanese-Americans by the Hearst press and other papers on the West Coast; against those made on the British and Russians by the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson axis, and those made against Catholics under the guise of fighting fascism. All such tendencies are dangerous now. They will be even more threatening in the future when we shall be moving through the strained days of readjustment to peacetime production, when jobs, despite all our efforts, will for a certain period at least be insufficient to go around; when the whole world will be out of joint, and when it will be wise to aid a starving, dislocated, destroyed Europe, so that we may be aided toward living in a less restless, less chaotic, less dangerous, healthier world. *Then* those tendencies can divide us. *Then* another Hitler can use them to produce here the crawling maggots of fascism that we have been fight-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing to destroy in Italy, Germany and Japan.

We have been enthroning the purely material in the name of science far too long, so that we have lost our sense of real values. It's the kind of cynicism which is intellectual dandyism that leads us to measure civilization according to the number of bathtubs, automobiles, washing machines and radios in a country, instead of by the intellectual, artistic and spiritual development of the citizenry. It has led us to conclude that a man without modern plumbing is to be disdained, instead of realizing that the real man is not what is outside him, but what is inside.

This kind of attitude has affected our books, our motion pictures, our radio, press and forms of education. Because we are paving our way with emotional reactions instead of reason, we incline to oversimplifications, fail to make necessary distinctions, and arrive at conclusions that are un-Christian and undemocratic.

Let each man note the prejudices that he has himself, toward Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Japanese-Americans, Russians, British or any other group of people. Let him begin by realizing that no prejudice against any kind of people as a class is justified in fact. Let each man within a class also seek to be a worthy member of his class. Let us all seek to work with other people in the nation and with those in other countries, so that we shall not undermine and destroy this new structure of peace we are striving to erect, but shall instead buttress it against storms of the future.

More Plasma Please!

By ETHEL AARON

Now that I've given blood to the Red Cross from coast to coast I consider myself an authority on varying techniques. Back on December 8th, 1941, things were very different at blood banks from what they are today. I got up that morning and went down to East 37th Street and Lexington Avenue, because I felt that was the quickest way to spit at a Jap.

Flurried attendants were working out the assembly line system which shortly was to reach high perfection. The routine had not yet become too formal. There was still a backyard-across-the-fence visiting that was fun. Almost everyone was a first time donor on December 8th, and not only did we feel like heroes, we were conscious of being set apart from our fellows.

When you had successfully passed the hemoglobin check, the blood pressure check, the "have-you-had-any-of-the-following diseases" check, and were lying on a table watching your blood drain into a squat bottle, you could imagine yourself one with boys who were giving theirs.

My fourth trip to the New York blood bank was an anti-climax. I was by now accustomed to the routine, people weren't so friendly, nor were they so self-conscious. Into the manner of the aides had crept a little of the monotony they were experiencing hour after hour. All the same, I was impressed by the vastness of the new headquarters in the old Tiffany building on Fifth Avenue.

Modesty overcame the attendants when they had more space, and men and women were separated at the door to the dressing rooms, where you were given a white coat to don.

My work with the Army Air Forces took me to St. Louis. There for the first time an Army doctor shoved the needle into the vein. No conversation, sheer efficiency.

But Chicago was the highspot.

Soft music came to us from the inner sanctum. Here was a completely new idea. Symphony while you waited, and all through the ordeal too.

Of course, I haven't seen all our cities in action yet. Dallas, Birmingham, points south, here I come to leave you a little plasma.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Homeless Return

BY

MARTIN EBON

Millions in Europe are on the move toward their native lands. But clouds of overwhelming mystery hang over the fate of millions more who are unaccounted for. Of France's 2,115,000 displaced by the Germans, only 1,299,000 have returned. What became of the others—prisoners of war, slave laborers, political deportees, Jews? The same sinister riddle faces all the nations formerly occupied by the nazis. Meanwhile Jews in Europe are experiencing hardships in proving their citizenship and in being readmitted to the countries where they formerly dwelt. FREE WORLD *urges in the strongest manner that the nations relax formalities at the borders and that further difficulties and suffering be not inflicted upon those who have undergone so much in the past four and a half years.*

EUROPE'S nazi beast has been slain. But his shadow, gigantic and horrifying, still falls upon the stricken continent. For while millions of slave laborers, deportees and prisoners of war are returning home, and other millions await repatriation, there remains the most somber speculation about uncounted millions who have seemingly vanished.

More than half the number of displaced persons in the zone administered by Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force, have been repatriated. SHAEF has been able to register some 4,500,000 displaced persons, the majority of whom have already returned to their countries of origin, including France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg, Poland, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, perhaps half the number of persons who were displaced through German-controlled forced migration may be found in Eastern Europe, although no adequate statistics are as yet available.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has estimated the total number of persons, scattered across the continent of Europe and beyond, at twelve million. We may assume that a large number of people were not registered by SHAEF, because they were returning home without supervision. Figures announced by governments or inter-governmental bodies have at times been conflicting, but the following summary is based on the most reliable data available:

Soviet Union: Of some 2,500,000 Soviet nationals who were deported by the nazis, 1,849,000 were registered by SHEAF; about half of these have been returned. Last May, Soviet military authorities signed a repatriation agreement with SHAEF, which not only facilitated the return of Russian citizens to the Soviet Union, but also opened the way for about 20,000 American and 30,000 British prisoners of war.

Previously, even while the German army was fighting, prisoner exchange took place by sea, mainly through the Russian port of Odessa on the Black Sea, and the French Mediterranean port of Marseilles. The Soviet agreement with SHAEF made it possible to repatriate Allied nationals directly across the line separating the two zones of occupation, and air transport has been employed with excellent and speedy results.

France: According to the French Ministry of War, 2,115,000 French nationals were displaced by the Germans. Of these,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

910,000 were prisoners of war, 700,000 slave laborers, 380,000 political deportees and 120,000 Jews. SHAEF had registered 1,299,000 French nationals, almost all of whom have been able to return to their homes. French authorities have been concerned about the fate of many of their deportees, particularly about political deportees. The above figures suggest that about one million French nationals have not been accounted for. Some of them may not have been registered by SHAEF, others are likely to be in the Soviet zone, and it is to be feared that many thousands —particularly Jews and political deportees— have been put to death by the nazis.

Belgium: About 500,000 Belgian citizens were deported by the Germans. Sixty thousand prisoners of war and 180,000 other displaced persons were repatriated from the SHAEF zone up to June, leaving about 30,000 still to be returned. This would account only for somewhat more than half the number of persons originally deported.

Netherlands: The situation here is similar to that in Belgium. SHAEF located about 200,000 Dutch nationals. Some 20,000 others were found in Norway, but about half of the total of 500,000 originally deported, have not been found. At one time the nazis created a bogus Dutch settlement agency, the Netherlands East Company, engaged in transplanting Netherlands farmers to eastern territories. As a result, tens of thousands of able-bodied men were sent to the then German-occupied Baltic countries, the Ukraine and White Russia.

Czechoslovakia: UNRRA has estimated that about 1,000,000 Czechs and Slovaks were deported or otherwise displaced by the nazis. By comparison, the figure of those reported in the SHAEF zone, 35,000, is very small indeed. But it is known that Czechoslovak nationals have been widely scattered by the Germans.

Poland: Various estimates place the number of displaced Poles at about 2,500,000. Nazi population policy has been particularly rigorous in Poland, where large parts of what used to be called the "Polish Corridor" were illegally annexed by the Germans. In a process of forced Germanization of western Polish territories, the Germans deported more than 1,000,000 Poles from their homes to the so-called "Gouvernement General," or nazi-created "Rump Poland." In turn, the nazis settled about 600,000 so-called "Volksdeutsche" from the Baltic countries and Romania in the annexed Polish region which they named "Wartheland." In addition, prisoners of war and slave laborers reached between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000. SHAEF registered less than 1,000,000, and very few of this number have been repatriated.

Italy: The Germans have displaced about 1,000,000 Italian nationals, 300,000 of whom were located by SHAEF. Many are now being sent back to Italy.

Greece: German shipment of slave laborers from Greece has been relatively small, although UNRRA believes that close to half a million Greek nationals in all categories may have been displaced. Repatriation of Greeks from the Near East began last March. Residents of Greek Mediterranean islands were the first to return to their homes with the aid of UNRRA.

Yugoslavia: UNRRA also cared for a great number of Yugoslavs in the Near East, who are scheduled to return to their homes as quickly as possible. About 400,000 Yugoslavs are among Europe's displaced persons, 85,000 of whom were registered by SHAEF.

Other countries: SHAEF registered 7,000 Luxembourg citizens, and was able to repatriate nearly all of them speedily. Several thousand Albanians were deported as slave laborers, but no reliable statistics are available. In Norway, large-scale deportations did not take place, as most laborers were used in the building of coastal fortifications. About 10,000 Danes were sent to Norway. Both Sweden and Switzerland still hold a large number of refugees, whose repatriation is expected to take place without difficulty.

Screening Imperative

ALTHOUGH eleven governments are represented in the SHAEF zone by 100 liaison officers, representation in Eastern Europe remains sketchy. SHAEF has found the representation of Allied governments particularly helpful in the screening of persons about to be repatriated. General

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

screening, designed to eliminate war criminals or collaborators, is undertaken in SHAEF's relocation centers. A second screening process is undertaken by each country among its own nationals or alleged nationals.

SHAEF officials have estimated that about half a million displaced persons were not included in SHAEF registration and have not entered relocation centers. Both SHAEF and the International Red Cross at Geneva have discouraged, as detrimental to organized relief and repatriation, individual or group attempts to return to home countries on their own. Nevertheless, inter-governmental aid is given those who are found on the highways by the so-called "flying squads" of UNRRA. These squads consist of eight trucks: one first aid truck, one ambulance, a kitchen truck and a canteen.

Problems linked with the efficiency and speed of repatriation developed between the French Provisional Government and the United States military authorities, as well as between Soviet repatriation officials and the government of Great Britain. The French Ministry for Deportees, Refugees and Prisoners, headed by Henri Frenay, has been critical of the priority system used by American army officials in their repatriation activities. In particular, French authorities have asked for speedier return of political deportees.

At the same time, the French Government has been criticized by some of its own returned nationals, who have charged it with lack of preparation for relief and rehabilitation.

This led to protest meetings and local disturbances in Paris during the early part of June. The French Government compromised quickly by ordering clothing and shoes requisitioned in certain stores, so that there might be more supplies for deportees.

On June 10, the British Foreign Office answered Colonel General F. I. Golikov, President of the Soviet Reparation Commission, who had charged mistreatment of Soviet nationals by British military authorities. The Foreign Office countered his charges, saying that Russian authorities had not cooperated effectively with British repatriation officers in Eastern Europe.

As the last citizens of Allied countries in Western Europe are being repatriated by SHAEF, the problem of those classified as "stateless" becomes one of the United Nations thorniest peacetime questions. Ruthless nazi deportation techniques, including the breaking up of families, have orphaned thousands of Europe's children and robbed many individuals of proper means of identification. Many Jews are expected to have difficulty in establishing their nationality. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of Eastern European nationals, mostly Poles, are not returning to their home countries, until their future status under changed régimes has been clarified.

The Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, created in 1938, now faces the task of clarifying the status of more than one million people who will be technically "stateless." The success of the Committee's activities will depend in large measure on the attitude of the individual governments that participate in its functions. A progressive policy has, in recent months, been followed by the French Government with regard to Spanish refugees on its territories. French-born Spanish children have become French citizens, as have a number of Spanish-born adults.

Political Problems Arise

BEFORE the war, Latin American and African countries received several thousand refugees from Central Europe. The United States has received a limited number of immigrants under its strict quota system. Great Britain, although it has been a haven for several tens of thousands of refugees from the Continent, has so far failed to clarify their chances of obtaining British citizenship. In the fall of 1943, a Pan-American Demographic Conference took place in Mexico City, which foreshadowed a more efficiently organized and more consistent immigration policy for Latin American countries.

While the governments of the world face the task of aiding the "stateless" of Europe, and individual national administrations organize their resources to assimilate those who return, political problems have also been created by the sudden repatriation of deportees. It must be kept

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in mind that some of those who now return are not freed slave laborers, but people who voluntarily went to Germany or German-controlled territories. Some of these men and women have known a façade of security under nazi rule. They now return to political and economic fermentation. There has been evidence that this sudden dislocation, aided by years of exposure to nazi propaganda, has created confusion in the minds of some who have returned.

The governments of France and Poland, in particular, face the grave responsibility of doing everything to avoid disillusionment among returned deportees. Other countries, who have to absorb a relatively smaller number of homecoming deportees, encounter similar problems, although on a narrower scale. In France, the fate of those who have returned depends in large measure on the general economic regeneration of the country as a whole. Deportees are beginning to make their political influence felt. In Poland, the creation of a representative government, agreed to at the Yalta Conference, is likely to remove doubts from the minds of many who now hesitate to return to their home country, rule of which is claimed by two rival factions.

Solution of the Polish problem would also reduce the question of those technically "stateless" to more manageable proportions. As it is, the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees commands only limited authority. The Nansen Institute, created after the last war, had been able to gain international legal status by issuing so-called Nansen Passports. The Institute was later absorbed by the League of Nations. Inclusion of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees in the United Nations World Organization might facilitate a solution of the "stateless" problem, although official bodies in the field of international migration have, in the past, at times shown less adaptability than have private relief organizations.

The creation of a United Nations displaced persons bureau might encourage more active participation of individual member nations and heighten the realization of collective responsibility.

Coming In The Next Issue

Many important articles are scheduled for the next issue of* FREE WORLD, *articles which our readers and their friends cannot afford to miss at this critical moment in history. They will include an article on the future functioning of the Social and Economic Council of the new World Organization, by Oscar Cox, Deputy Director of the Foreign Economic Administration. From Paris André Sauger will write next month an analysis of the political forces that are shaping France. Professor Max Ascoli will discuss Russia's future foreign policy. Harry Emerson Wildes will analyze the history and policies of the Japanese press, to see how it can be utilized after the war to educate the Japanese people for democracy. The subject is one on which he has done wide research.

***These are only a few of the informative features which are planned for the August issue of* FREE WORLD.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Preparing A Safe Crossing

From War To Peace

BY

WILLIAM H. DAVIS

DURING the war federal authority in America has been broadly extended in the field of industrial relations. Freedom of action by the individual has been greatly restricted.

Surrender of individual liberties is always a companion of war. Governmental assumption of power and responsibility was essential to our industrial nation, faced with the necessity for immediate production of vast quantities of war materials as a matter of survival of itself and its allies. Steps to protect the domestic economy from wartime inflationary pressures were equally vital.

Extension of federal authority in industrial relations, even under the compulsions of war, was carried out through democratic procedures. These were perhaps surprisingly deliberate and democratic considering the urgency of the situation. Growth of federal power was gradual. It paced the growing urgency of the European situation and the mounting national determination to get on with defense production. The people increasingly understood why curtailment of voluntary action was necessary. When war came, the final assumption of power was supported by common agreement. It was effected through war emergency powers of the Chief Executive and through legislative action by Congress.

The Director of Economic Stabilization here outlines the dangers of the transition from war to peace, and defines the extent of the need for government controls.

Before the defense program began, the federal government intervened in industrial disputes affecting public welfare, through the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor. As the defense program grew and the threat of war increased, there was need for more intervention, to cope with strikes that interrupted production.

The situation was dramatized by rioting, particularly in plants of the International Harvester Company and at the Milwaukee plant of Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company. On March 19, 1941, the President, by Executive Order, created the National Defense Mediation Board. He directed it to consider disputes certified to it by the Secretary of Labor and to try to settle them by mediation or voluntary arbitration. Failing in that, the Mediation Board was authorized to make public its findings of fact and its recommendations.

Public opinion, crystallized by such publication, was relied upon to induce the parties to settle their dispute. Beyond the force of public opinion there was no interference with individual freedom of action.

As the situation grew more urgent and the Board succeeded in settling a number of important disputes, the Mediation Board initiated and developed the idea of asking

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strikers to return to work and employers to continue operations while the Board examined the merits of the controversy and sought settlement. This practice was generally accepted, and seems likely to be an established part of future governmental participation in labor disputes.

The first significant instance in which one of the parties refused to accept the recommendations of the Mediation Board involved the Southern Appalachian Coal Operators and the United Mine Workers. When it became apparent that the President would seize the coal mines if the recommendation was not accepted, the operators yielded.

A little later, in June 1941, the full range of executive intervention to protect defense production was exhibited in the North American Aviation case. An unlimited national emergency had been declared by the President under the War Powers Act. The North American workers, under the leadership of local union officers outlawed by the CIO, continued their strike in violation of an interim agreement with the Mediation Board and threw picket lines about the huge plant. The President directed the Secretary of War to seize and operate the plant pending settlement of the dispute. Under the direction of international officers of the CIO, the workers returned to work and the plant was restored to its owners.

These instances made it clear that in a case vitally affecting the national effort, the recommendations of the Mediation Board would be supported by Presidential action.

War Breaks

WHEN the quiet Sunday afternoon of December 7, 1941, brought war suddenly to the United States, the President called leaders of industry and organized labor to Washington for a conference. Both sides recognized that the vital needs of war production required the settlement of disputes without strikes or lockouts. Out of the conference came the no-strike, no-lockout agreement in return for establishment of a National War Labor Board which would make final decisions when all other means of settling disputes had failed. Industry and labor voluntarily accepted final arbitration by a government agency.

The production of war goods stimulated employment and boosted payrolls while the production of consumer goods was halted or reduced. The need for additional government controls covering wages and prices soon became apparent. The threat of runaway inflation was too imminent to be neglected.

On April 27, 1942, the President, in a message to Congress and in an address to the country, announced a seven-point anti-inflation program and called upon the nation voluntarily to restrict its individual freedom by democratic means – through Congressional legislation. The program set forth in the President's message remained a voluntary program and provided no means to prevent employers, competing for manpower in a short labor market, from bidding wages up to inflationary levels. Nor were workers prevented from "job-shopping" and migrating from job to job in quest of higher pay. In October 1942, Congress passed the Amended Stabilization Act which directed the President, by Executive Order, to stabilize wages, salaries and prices at the levels of September 15, 1942.

Positive control over wages was thus embodied in statutory law. The action of Congress shut the door on voluntary wage increases. For the national good and by act of Congress the area of voluntary action in the field of wages and prices was sharply reduced. The President entrusted the administration of wage controls to the War Labor Board through the Director of Economic Stabilization.

On June 25, 1943, the War Labor Disputes Act was passed. It gave statutory force to the power of the War Labor Board to settle wartime labor disputes, which since January 12, 1942 had rested upon an Executive Order and the voluntary acceptance by labor and industry. By this law Congress gave the Board's orders the status of orders of Congress, with the War Labor Board serving as the administrative agent.

Thus, step by step the exigencies of war nourished the growth of governmental power at the expense of individual freedom of action. However, each step was taken through democratic procedure pre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceded by public discussion and by calls upon the people for voluntary action. The War Labor Board was set up by executive action in the general emergency as an expression of the national will. Industry and labor participated in its formation. The Economic Stabilization Act and the War Labor Disputes Act were enacted by our duly-elected representatives in Congress.

These are the phases through which we passed from a condition of virtually unlimited freedom of action in a peacetime democracy to the extensive controls and restrictions necessary to the survival of any nation at war.

After War—Self-Control?

WITH America's tradition of individual liberty, it may be assumed that freedom of action in industrial relations will be restored to the parties after the war. I think everyone will agree that the economic controls forced upon us by the war are not desirable in themselves. They are tolerable only as a means to an end—a stabilized economy that is essential to all-out war effort. But there may be some division of opinion among us as to when governmental controls should be removed. In seeking a common answer, it may be best to look at the magnitude of the post war economic problems in which management and labor will play an inevitable part, and at the impact which a serious industrial dispute may be expected to have upon the public welfare.

One of the major objectives, as we turn from war to peace, will be to rid ourselves of wartime controls. But I venture to suggest that we will be able to do that only as we substitute effective self-control which will in itself assure a high level of production, distribution and consumption.

I wonder if I can state so clearly as to be fully understood, why I think it will be necessary as we pass from war to peace to make this gradual substitution of self-control for government control. I wish I could find a word to express at once the tremendous difficulty and the imperative necessity I believe to be implicit in the economic problem that is about to confront us. Perhaps I cannot do better than to recall Walt Whitman's words:

> **"Wert capable of war, its tug and trials? Be capable of peace, its trials,**
> **"For the tug and mortal strain of nations come at last in prosperous peace, not war."**

I think it has become clear that we must succeed in peace as we have succeeded in war. To achieve and hold a high level of production and consumption in this country is essential not only for our own peace and comfort but, indeed, for the welfare of all mankind. Without it, we will have lost the fruits of victory.

I believe the entire western world has become aware that international cooperation will be impossible unless the United States is a prosperous buyer, as well as a magnificent producer of civilian goods and services. Indeed, as I look ahead, I see this nation irretrievably committed to achievement of an economic level high enough to absorb in peacetime a volume of civilian goods and services substantially equal to our present total production of war goods and civilian goods combined. We must be able to increase our civilian consumption, direct and indirect, by an amount approximately equal to our present production of war materials. I believe that can be achieved. But I think it will take a total mobilization of the will and spirit of America—as complete as the mobilization of our will and spirit for war.

There has been a flood of opinion, in this country and abroad, to the same effect. Professor John Maurice Clark sums it up in his splendid report, "Demobilization of Wartime Economic Controls," to the Committee for Economic Development. He says:

> **"Our war effort has performed miracles because enough Americans have adopted the attitude that what must be done, can be done. If the peace effort requires further miracles, that should be faced in a similar spirit."**

It is no easy thing, this coming adventure of production. It is a hard pioneering thing. It will call for determination, sacrifice, devotion, and endurance. It can and will be done, because it must be done.

Our first job is, of course, to finish the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war. With that first job always in mind, what the nation must do is to pass from the present high level of production, nearly half of it wastefully consumed in war, to an equivalent high level of production all of which may be usefully consumed in peace. Making adequate allowances for some relaxation of productive efforts, which we shall all favor lest we exhaust our lives in work with no play, the new level of production and consumption will mean an increase in our standards of living by something like 30 to 50 per cent.

Our problem is to get across the river from now to then. If anything in the economic world can be a certainty, it is certain that we cannot cross the river on a bridge of unstable dollars. We must build a bridge of civilian goods and services. Only by production can we get across. For both management and labor the primary consideration in the period of reconversion must be production, and more production. Furthermore, having initiated production in the mills, mines and factories of the nation, no continued progress can be made toward the promise of the future except as management and labor agree upon a fair division of their joint production—fair to management, fair to the wage earner, and fair to the consumer.

From this point of view, let us look more closely at the specific problems of industrial relations in the transition from war to peace.

It is reasonable to assume that the first step toward greater peacetime freedom of action in industrial relations will be relaxation or elimination of wage controls. No one thinks of these controls as desirable in themselves. But the very easiest mistake to make would be to disband the stabilization controls too soon.

At the very end of the road from war to peace lies the gravest danger—speculative inflation. It would be tragic to permit that sort of inflation at the last to destroy everything that has been accomplished up to now.

The timing of the removal of stabilizing controls seems, therefore, to be at the very heart of the problem. The conditions for fixing the time of relaxation can easily be stated. In the first place, controls will be needed and should be kept just as long as the inflationary threat persists. Secondly, the best way to remove the inflationary threat is to speed up production and remove impediments to distribution. Finally, to increase real purchasing power—to move toward higher living standards—wages must move up along with production. If wages are so high that they push up costs to a point where price increases are necessary, they impede production. If they are too low to purchase the increasing flow of goods and services, they also impede production.

On some such general principles I suppose we can all agree. Disagreement is likely to come over the details of measuring these conditions. Particularly when selfishness is activated by apprehension in the minds of both labor and management. This is the point at which the spirit of adventure must come in. High production and consumption will depend upon joint effort by management and labor, substantially founded on common agreement. But in reaching that agreement management must take a chance on the volume of production. And labor must take a chance on the total wage payments. A sit-down by either side will spoil the party.

From the point of view of industrial relations, this matter of total production and total wage payments is, I think, at the very heart of the overall conversion problem. It goes deeper than wage payments alone. It reaches to the total national planning for prosperity. If in that planning management and labor should agree to take the ball, without governmental interference, there is nothing that can prevent their doing so. I for one would stand on the sidelines and cheer.

We Cannot Fail

BUT whatever they are unwilling or unable to do by common agreement, the government will have to do. With the history of war production behind us, we simply cannot fail. Whatever stands in the way will have to be put aside, as impediments to war production have been put aside. To this imperative of peace everything else must give way.

I will not attempt to say to what extent the transition can be controlled. But adjustment cannot be controlled at all unless

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is a substantial degree of national agreement on the task before us. The public has to believe there is more to be gained by an orderly readjustment than there is by turning everybody loose to scramble for himself—labor on one side, industry on the other, and the public somewhere in the middle.

This common consent is after all what happened when the nation agreed to accept wage stabilization and other controls upon voluntary action. It was the judgment of the nation that more was to be gained out of stabilization than out of unrestrained competitive bidding for scarce labor or scarce materials in time of war.

To achieve the same degree of common consent in combatting the problems of reconversion is likely to be more difficult because of the patriotic and emotional appeals inherent in the drama of war. It will be necessary, I think, to convince the nation of the drama of peace, and the challenge it presents.

Our realization of that has been so keen that we are actually inclined to find a factor of safety for our economy in a continuation of the Japanese war beyond victory in Europe. The theory is that it would give us an economic interlude—half war and half peace—in which to learn to make the reconversion from war production to civilian production with fewer shocks and at less peril.

I view the interim period as a time of crisis. In this economic field the day after victory will be a day of greater peril than the day before victory. We must marshal the national will for meeting the "tug and mortal strain of . . . prosperous peace" as we have marshaled it for war.

Finally, we may think of the time when wage controls have been totally removed and when the arbitration of labor disputes by government has come to an end with termination of the war. What then?

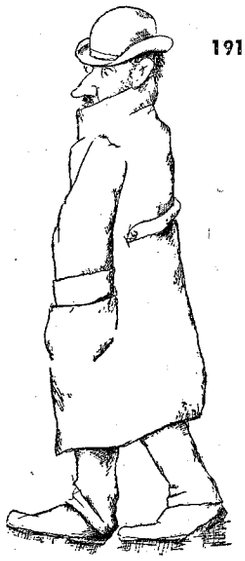
The probabilities are that America shall then return to a federal conciliation and mediation service leading up to a Mediation Board with only the power to investigate disputes and make recommendations—an arrangement such as existed in the National Defense Mediation Board before Pearl Harbor.

But I think industrial relations will carry an importance far exceeding anything in prewar days. That new importance will powerfully affect the authority of a Federal Mediation Board. It will stem from the increased size and organized strength of the parties to industrial disputes, and from the absolute urgency of attaining a high level of peacetime economy. These two influences will, I believe, cause a greater number of industrial disputes to have a direct and immediate bearing on the general welfare.

Any dispute which may lead to interruption of vital production will so affect the public interest that the nation will not permit it to be settled on the picket line. The people will insist that it be settled by agreement, or failing agreement, on the basis of recommendations by an impartial governmental board.

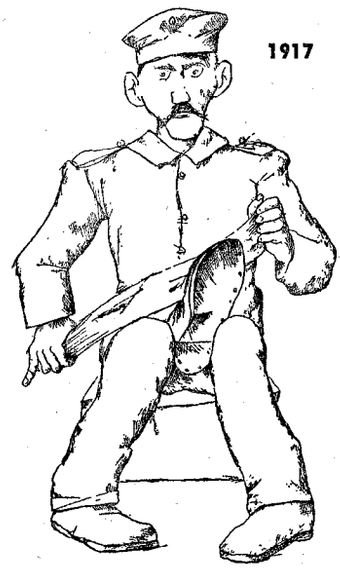
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLD CONQUEROR—DEAD?

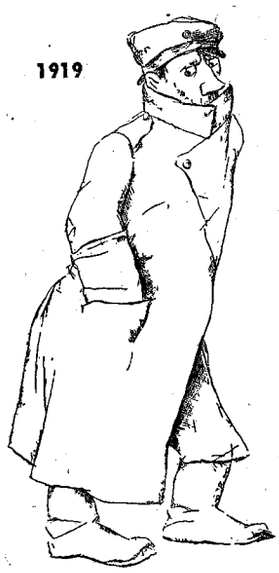


1910

In 1910 Hitler was in a beggars asylum at Meidling supported by Jewish charity. In World War I he rose from bum to corporal. In a tattered uniform in 1919 he became an agitator and informer on his comrades. By 1921 he was a National Socialist with an Iron Cross. His Munich putsch in 1923 was a flop, but he consoled himself with Wagnerian music until he emerged as chancellor with von Papen's help and Hindenburg's blessing, and began a brilliant epoch of theft, rape, racial and political persecutions, concentration camps and other brutalities.



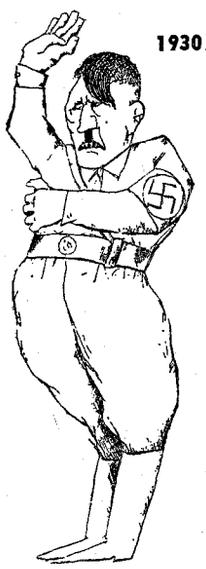
1917



1919

1921

1923



1930

1933

1934

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OR—BEHIND A FALSE BEARD?

1938

The road to power for the fuehrer was as easy as riding on a broom, but Hitler chose Chamberlain's umbrella. He proceeded to help Franco defeat democratic Spain; he annexed Austria and seized Czechoslovakia.

In 1940 the fuehrer's nazis took Paris. The ex-beggar and bum began to think he was Napoleon. He even visited Paris and saw Napoleon's tomb, not knowing how soon he too might be a dead one.

1940

1941

After Paris anything looked easy—especially the conquest of the world, which ought to give up easily to a Superman Bum. But then something happened—Did anyone see a bubble burst? The fuehrer was working up to a big let-down.

Some say the fuehrer went up in smoke. Others think he may be hiding. A secret radio station recently broadcast a message purporting to announce that he was "safe." Perhaps he has sought asylum in a bum's lodging.

Drawings by Quintanilla

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Birmingham To Bengal

A Story

By JOHN YARD

CAPTAIN GEORGE JOHNSON, army surgeon, is from Birmingham, Alabama. That may explain an idea that came to him recently in Bengal. For Birmingham taught him the meaning of the Biblical story of the loaves and fishes, which is that two and two do not inevitably make four. This has practical application to the village beyond Madhupur where, with his Negro regiment, he is at present stationed.

Even before he came to the Bengal town the little brown doctor, who is short and slight and almost insignificant in khaki, had managed some of the hardest going of the Pacific war. He was with the regiment when it battled Japs and cobras in jungles, when it slugged and sloshed over steep mountains and scaled heights that melted underfoot in the muds of the monsoon. He was considered an able patcher of broken bodies, though an army carries few spare parts for the human machine, and many of those whose vehicles hurtled over precipices in the speed of pushing through the building of the Ledo Road were beyond any helping. The Captain saw that as the price of forging a highway into Burma. Over it supplies would roll to other Americans who would conquer the Japanese. He placed a high value on life, but thought it could be spent for "value received." And he never lost faith that this stubborn old planet can and will be taught better manners in the end.

When the regiment was ordered back to easier duty in Bengal, the "little Cap" as they called him, went into a slump for the first time. He acted as if he had caught a glimpse of some old bogey. Of course the village was unsanitary and medieval and ridden with disease, so much so that the camp site was chosen well on the outskirts. But he was thoroughly familiar by now with the standard brands of dysentery and dengue fever—even cholera—and with all 57 varieties of insect pests that war on the American troops in different parts of the East.

Here in Bengal there was something else that was neither insect nor disease germ, yet that crowded in on you menacingly. You met it suddenly at night, in the shape of a woman's swathed figure silhouetted against the moon, wailing her grief like a sick hound. You were shudderingly aware of it in the spindly, misshapen legs of brown-skinned youngsters with paunchy bellies, running sores and outstretched hands.

The second day in the village Captain Johnson went looking for the Hindu doctor he'd heard about. He found him in the shack that was local clinic and dispensary. At least a hundred women stood in the dust on the outside. They were veiled in rags, and the children they carried were frail, many deformed. The little Cap worked his way nimbly through their ranks to the door. Inside, more mothers and infants squatted sad-eyed on the floor, awaiting their turns.

At a small table sat the Hindu. He was a large man, in a white suit and with horn-rimmed spectacles. His only visible equipment was a stethoscope, but his dark hands, the American noticed, had an X-ray quality all their own. They moved rapidly, detecting fevers by the touch, feeling the patient's spleen for a malaria diagnosis, turning small faces upward for a glimpse at eyes and tongues.

The Hindu flashed the little Cap a smile

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and with a welcoming gesture motioned him to a seat on a stool not far from himself. Then, from the row of salvaged bottles in front of him, he continued swiftly dispensing the few drugs he had available. Only after the last of the clients had been attended to did he turn and remark, in perfect English: "I am Dr. Baira. It's really a pleasure to see an American doctor here. Of course you have nothing like this in that fortunate country of yours!"

"You have been there?"

"Yes. I was graduated from Pennsylvania. Not your school by any chance?"

It was Captain Johnson's turn to smile. "No," he said. "Mine was Meharry Medical College at Nashville. From there I went to my interneship at Slossfield Health Center."

"Slossfield? . . ."

"In Birmingham, Alabama—my home town."

"I'm afraid I never heard of Slossfield."

"That's not surprising. It's a wonderful place, though! You must visit it sometime."

Dr. Baira sighed. "I daresay your Slossfield is magnificent," he agreed. "Everything in America is on a colossal scale. You are wealthy! Here in India the need is appalling, the means are insignificant. All we can do is try to help ourselves, take what help comes. What we need is a miracle! Few on the outside can grasp the enormity of the sufferings of India. If they did, the size of the problem would discourage them."

"I think I begin to grasp it."

"Ah! Would you care to come with me on my calls in the village?"

"Thanks. Yes I'm anxious to have a look at this place."

DR. BAIRA packed his stethoscope and some medicines into a small bag. As they left the shack, several leathery cows had taken the place of the women in the road. Emaciated creatures, they were searching vainly for blades of green.

"Don't tell me they give milk!" the little Cap exclaimed.

"No—India's cows make poor wet nurses!"

"What good are they?"

"They are sacred to us Hindus."

"You believe in that?"

"Of course! But even more, I believe in milk for our children. If only we could give them that! Even the goats have gone dry in this town!"

The trail led the two men into huts of incredible squalor, where fever-wracked villagers lay moaning on hard clay floors. Dr. Baira tended both Hindus and Mohammedans. In one hut a little boy of four stirred in his filthy rags and stared up at the American. His eyes were torches glowing in a small skeleton. The Captain turned away quickly. "I've one that age myself," he remarked later. "Any hope?"

"No. Pneumonia's a quick killer when it follows starvation. So is malaria. It often gets them in a day!"

Starvation. That was it. The word went through the little Cap's heart like a bayonet point. He feared the sting of it more than he ever had the sharp crackle of snipers' bullets or the insistent rattle of machine guns in far hills.

"Hunger's home is India," Dr. Baira was saying. "There's always famine somewhere in our villages. But the war turned this province into a death house. Half the people of our village died in 1943—4,000,000 in all Bengal. We grow rice here, but not enough. The Jap conquest of Burma robbed us of our food supply."

"Thank God the road to Burma's open."

"Yes, you can be happy you had a hand at that! There's rice coming in now. Trouble is, our villagers have no purchasing power left. In the famine they sold even their tools."

"Isn't something being done for them?"

"Yes indeed! The Indian Government, the British, the Americans are helping. But in India help is like food: there's never enough to go around!"

OUT at the camp that night the little Cap sat on the edge of his bunk with his head in his hands. He didn't join in the conversation, except once to yell "Shut up!" at Bill Turner, a medical corpsman, who had started singing "I got sixpence."

The Captain had his teeth in a problem too big for any man to lick. Besides, this Bengal village had made him violently homesick for the first time since the war began. He was seeing, as if it were just beyond the tent flap, the Slossfield section of Birmingham, in the year 1936. There were 50,000 Negroes packed into that Slossfield,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the depression had reduced life in the crowded ramshackle houses to a sort of death-in-life, reeking with poverty, filth, ignorance and despair. Thirteen relatives shared their four rooms with the Johnsons. Their diet consisted of a little fat-back and flour stirred up to make gravy in a frying pan. There was no abundance even of that. As the little Cap's mother put it: "Seems like the Lord willed it for us to starve!"

In that she was mistaken. In 1936 Slossfield was to be elevated out of its misery and transported to Paradise.

It had begun, the Captain recalled, when Mr. Moore of the Cast Iron Pipe Company inserted a want ad for a thousand Negro laborers. Next morning 3,000 men had stampeded the factory gates. George Johnson was seventeen then, a spindly-legged high school senior, and he was among them. Their hopes had turned rapidly to disillusionment. When the plant guards had lined them up brusquely and marched them before the company doctor, that gentleman thumbed down 2,000 at a glance as unfit for any sort of work. The remaining 1,000 were processed through the plant's medical department, given a more searching test. Only 300 made the grade. The tubercular, the post-rachitic, the generally undernourished and debilitated had to be turned down. George was of that group—a borderline case.

"Better go back to school," the doctor had said. "You're not strong enough for factory life. Feed up and come back in another six months."

"Feed up! . . . on what?"

He still remembered how rebellious, how heartbroken, how furious he had felt while the doctor scanned his puny nakedness. Folks talked about Negro lads staging hold-ups, murders—well—

Then there was the aftermath. It seemed this Mr. Moore, who made iron pipes, likewise had been furious that day—furiously ashamed at something he had seen that had never soaked in before. He was a big man, a muscular giant, and he had gone into action like a hurricane. All the money Moore had ever made couldn't remake Slossfield—but somebody could. The little Cap remembered tales of how Moore had shaken his big fist under the City Council's chins, how he'd rushed off to the State Capital and to Washington to demand funds, food, doctors, plans.

In far-away Bengal, the little Cap had a hard time keeping back the tears his memories brought in a sudden rush. He was seeing a great Health Center that had risen in Slossfield where the city garbage trucks used to be parked. He was seeing himself there, a young interne busy in the wards, the maternity, the infant clinics. Men were working in Slossfield, there were new homes, cooking courses, food to cook.

"It just takes some starting!" the little Cap reflected. "It's the first move from inertia that counts! Of course there's more hungry people in Bengal than in Slossfield. But that doesn't matter much. There's plenty of people in the world to help." And he envisioned a United Nations declaring that the disgrace of starving people must be wiped from the earth.

A FEW days later Captain Johnson went in town and looked up Dr. Baira again. He said: "Well, we've got our sanitation problems pretty well organized out at the camp. Maybe I could help you clean up this village and get something started here."

"I'll certainly be glad for your help, Captain," Dr. Baira said. And he looked as if he meant it. "Have you any suggestions?"

"Nothing startling. You spoke about milk the other day. It strikes me two things this village could use are clean milk and clean water. Water's the easiest. I can get the army's help on that, because of course these infectious conditions are a danger to the troops."

"That's true. What do you propose?"

"Well, at camp we have a very simple type of reservoir. Just a 5,000 gallon bag held up in a wooden frame, with metal taps around the base. The bag is filled up with water and chemicals are added for purification. I could help you install several of these, and see that you get a supply of chemicals."

"A fine idea! Chemicals have been as scarce here as everything else!"

"Yes, I understand."

"What ought to be done is to spray oil on all the stagnant pools around this area," Dr. Baira mused.

"I can help you with that too. And the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regiment's got a new hand grenade that explodes and releases chemicals to destroy insects."

Baira grinned. "War on insects with hand grenades! That's a wonderful idea!"

"It is. With a little effort we ought to be able to clean out the pests that keep these people sick. Maybe if we just get them in better condition some of them can find work and begin to help themselves."

At that Baira looked doubtful. "There's a war industry down the river," he said. "But the people here aren't fit to work! They need food to get work, and they need work to get food!"

"I know—I know just what it is," the Captain agreed. "But it can be broken!"

He was thinking of Slossfield, but of course Dr. Baira had never seen Slossfield. After a while the Hindu said: "Even some free milk stations for the children like the ones you have in the States, would be a great help here. I have a small shipment of dried milk that was sent me from Calcutta, but I've had to dole it out to the fever convalescents. Otherwise, it wouldn't last."

The little Cap was quite excited at that news. "See here, Baira," he said. "Let's get busy and put up some free milk stations right away! Once we have them started we'll find a way to keep them going!"

Baira shook his head. "I couldn't risk it."

"But you can. I won't let you down."

"What will you do?"

"I don't know—yet. But we've got to risk something."

Dr. Baira sat thinking that one over for some time. "Maybe so," he said with a sigh. "I'll admit I'm scared to death! But I think that's the secret of what you Americans call your 'know-how.' You start something that looks impossible—and pretty soon it works."

"Will you come along with me on this?"

"I'm—*afraid* I will!"

DR. BAIRA was true to his word. The way he pitched into the projects of putting up water stations and milk stations and ridding the village of insects, none would have suspected he was a man who already handled a clinic of some 200 patients daily.

News of the little Cap's war spread rapidly among the men of the regiment. Some of them volunteered to come in town on their leave and help with the building and clean-up jobs. Pretty soon they got wind of how precarious the milk situation was. Of course, a soldier doesn't dispose of unlimited funds, but, as Chick Delorier from Cow Creek, Louisiana, put the case: "Down where ah comes from, we sure is *strapped*—but ah reckon the kids gits their milk! Here's mah two bucks."

He whipped his hat off, dropped the money in and started passing it around. Jim Davis, a Yankee from Michigan, threw in a half dollar. Pretty soon Chick's overseas cap had to be discarded for a well-scrubbed garbage pail. When that had made the rounds of the tents, and the kitty was audited, there was found to be almost $400. The meanest fellow in the outfit, one Virgil Gurney from Georgia, who declared he never drank a glass of milk in his life, topped the contributions with eight bucks.

"Shucks, if that guy wasn't so stingy, he wouldn't o' had it!" Jim said ruefully.

It was decided that the best thing to do was for the little Cap to cable to the States for a shipment of dried milk to be started on its way immediately. Even with speed, it might not get there before Dr. Baira's supply ran out.

There were, in fact, tense weeks as the number of small clients at the milk stations multiplied, and the available supply of the powder sank to the vanishing point.

Fortunately the big packing case containing the dried milk from America was rolled off a truck at Captain Johnson's tent just in time to avert the disaster of having to shut up shop.

That disaster remained in the offing. It's true, you can buy a lot of dried milk for $400. Moreover, at the start, the village youngsters, and their mothers, were somewhat wary of the white powder from the other side of the world that turned into cow's milk when water was added. Yet hunger can overcome any sort of squeamishness. As a chunk of warm red meat draws a pack of hungry dogs, or a ship's wake of cast-offs attracts a swarm of gulls, so the milk stations drew dark-skinned boys and girls from an ever wider area.

The soldiers had figured just how long their first shipment would last, and already had plans for taxing themselves to renew

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the supply before it was gone. They were discouraged when they learned that the rate of consumption of the milk was much faster than anyone had supposed. Of course they would continue. No one even hinted that they could stop. But doughboys not being millionaires, it looked as if the regiment was in for its first licking of the war.

THE news of the stations had spread like wind-driven rain on a parched land. One day a committee of workers from the down-river factory came to the camp and wanted to confer with the American officers on the plan they were supposed to have for feeding this whole section of Bengal. It was almost impossible to persuade them that such a plan did not exist.

After their visit the Colonel had Captain Johnson before him and warned that the U. S. Army is not concerned with philanthropy but with fighting. All right to clean up here, insofar as the health of the troops was affected by conditions in the area. But let's not get out on any limb.

Meanwhile, there came a day when the little Cap himself wished he had never even thought of declaring war on the boundless hunger that existed in Bengal. The milk stations he and Dr. Baira had set up were the center of a clamoring, dissatisfied throng, demanding that more children receive the milk. The Hindus who were portioning out the white fluid were doing so cautiously, for the dried milk supply was again running low, and no one knew exactly how the stations were going to go on.

"I'm just a damned fool," the little Cap confided to Dr. Baira. "It was better never to start this than to have it fall through! I guess you can't do a thing like this alone."

For answer, Dr. Baira took his American friend by the arm. He walked him down by the communal pool in the village. Growing there was a banyan tree, and a huge mowa, with pungent flowers.

"Do you know the legend of the mowa?" Dr. Baira asked.

"No, I can't say I do."

"It concerns an ancient lord of India, whose granaries were full while his people died of famine. In their despair they came and prostrated themselves before his gate, praying for food. When he turned a deaf ear and continued to amuse himself with his nautch girls, his daughter, the Princess, found the keys of the granaries and delivered the rice to the people."

"What happened to her?"

"Her father threw her in a dungeon, and when she escaped, he sent his warriors to find and kill her. But as they overtook her, Manu changed her into this Mowa tree, and she was saved."

They stood there in silence for a while. Then Dr. Baira added: "You have made me think of this story recently. There are many hungry peoples today, not only in India, but in all the world, in Europe and Asia, and South America. But the nations' granaries are full, and a key will be found!"

"I wonder what the key is," the little Cap was thinking. He remembered Mr. Moore and how he had gone to Washington to get help for the people of Slossfield. Governments—yes, you could never feed the world without them!

When he got back to camp that night, there was a letter from his mother. He tore it open, and a dollar bill dropped out.

"I cried all night, honey, about those poor people," his mother wrote. "I know this isn't going to help them, really. I'm only an old woman and I'm not smart enough to figure what to do. But you young ones are smart—you can! All I can do to help is to be *wanting*. Folks is mighty powerful when they wants something hard enough. You wanted to be a doctor, and you got there, sure enough. And Mr. Moore, he wanted us to get jobs and start living, and so the government just had to do something. I'm sure if we all wanted bad enough for there to be no more hunger anywhere, someway they'd get it done."

The little Cap was sitting there staring thoughtfully at her letter, when Bill Turner sidled up and shoved a dollar into his hand. "Just got it from home," he explained sheepishly,—"for those kids."

For a long time after that, the Captain didn't budge. "You young ones are smart—you can figure it out," she'd said.

But *she* had figured it out. Slowly it came to him. The power of wanting—the will of peoples toward decency. Aren't they the force behind governments?—he asked himself. Don't they, in their hearts, hold the key to a better world?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Many people in the United States today are interested in determining the extent to which Federal economic controls need to be continued into the postwar period. Some would like to see an immediate resumption of the freedom of action in industrial relations that existed before the war. Others argue that for government to withdraw too soon would mean widespread unemployment. In this issue FREE WORLD brings its readers a thoroughgoing analysis by *WILLIAM H. DAVIS,* United States director of Economic Stabilization. *DAVIS* is a New York patent lawyer who has served the nation in three periods of crisis—World War I, the depression and the present war. He was chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board prior to Pearl Harbor, and in January 1942 was named chairman of the National War Labor Board. His article has significant things to say about postwar self-control as well as government control.

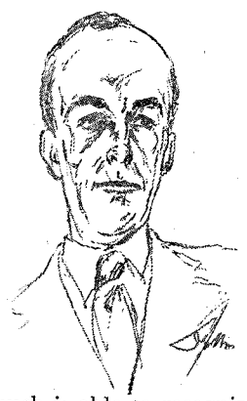
SERGE FLIEGERS studied economics and international relations at London University, Geneva University and Harvard. He worked for various wire services and is now Washington correspondent for an international news agency. He has covered most of the international conferences held on the American continent, including San Francisco, Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods.

HARRY W. FLANNERY is a Catholic who for many years has seen and understood the threat to all freedom involved in anti-Semitism. He saw what it meant in Berlin when he was stationed there in 1940-41 as European manager of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Much of what he witnessed at that time is included in his book, *Assignment to Berlin.* His article in this issue is a strong plea to Americans against the religious hatred which destroyed fascist Germany and which could, if we do not combat it, infect our own country. It is interesting to note that the recent FEPC report to President Truman declared that "The margin of our victory over religious intolerance has been narrow. Hoodlums have attacked Jews in some of our war-time cities. The dangerous undercurrent is there."

MR. FLANNERY is at present news analyst for CBS, speaking from Los Angeles.

MAX LERNER has long been known to Americans as a dynamo for liberal ideas, and as a keen and progressive thinker and writer on international affairs. His study of the future relationship of Russia and America gains by its strict objectivity, combined with a sense of the responsibility of these two major powers to see that peace prevails in the world. *LERNER,* an American citizen born in Russia, is eminently fitted to weigh and appraise inter-relations of the two nations. He came to this country at the age of five. Following his graduation from Yale he went on to take many degrees in law, political science and economics, and has taught these subjects at Harvard and at Williams College. He is at present assistant to the publisher of *PM.*

Assistant Secretary of State *ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH* writes in this issue concerning the real discovery that had to be made at San Francisco and that has to be made and acted on by peoples everywhere today: the discovery that the world is one. He thinks that truth may appear too simple for the sophisticated. But *MACLEISH,* before he was a public servant, was a renowned poet and as such is able to recognize the fact that the most important truths are always simple. Many of our readers will remember *MAC LEISH* not only as a writer but as the former editor of *Fortune,* later Librarian of Congress before he came to his present State Department assignment.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

A Japan-Asia Bookshelf

THE ASIAN LEGACY AND AMERICAN LIFE, edited by Arthur E. Christy. Conclusion by Pearl Buck. John Day. 276 *pages.* $3.50

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES AND JAPAN —BATTLE ON PAPER 1940-1941, by Hubertus J. van Mook. W. W. Norton. 138 *pages.* $2.00

JAPANESE MILITARISM, by John M. Maki. Borzoi Books. 258 *pages.* $3.00

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN, by William C. Johnstone. Oxford University Press. 162 pages. $2.00

IF a page of history is worth a volume of logic, and I think it is, then these four books dealing with Asia strike a correct balance. They can be profitably studied in this order:

The Asian Legacy and American Life comes first. Arthur E. Christy edited this collation of nine other writers, including the conclusion by Pearl Buck. Geographically the work roams Asia from the Levant to Japan. In context it links the Orient and the West through music, art, poetry and literature, religion, agriculture, and the humanities. It lifts the question mark from the often-heard proposition: "What can the East give the West?" Accordingly, it might well be titled "What the East did give the West."

Next in order in this three-inch shelf of informative reading I place *The Netherlands Indies and Japan—Battle on Paper 1940-1941.* Hubertus J. van Mook, present Netherlands Minister for the Colonies, tells the brave story of the militarily impotent East Indies fencing the avaricious demands of several Japanese economic missions. With official documents he elaborates his personal role in the historic negotiations. Mr. van Mook was Director of Economic affairs in the Indies and chief conferee with the cocksure Japanese civilians who spearheaded the eventual military grab of the "wealth of the Indies."

The third volume is unique. Author of *Japanese Militarism—Its Cause and Cure* is John M. Maki, who was born of Japanese parents in Tacoma, Washington. From the age of three weeks he was raised as the son of Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander McGilvrey. After obtaining his Master's degree in English literature, he turned to Japanese studies, rounded out by two years in Japan and subsequent war work after Pearl Harbor with our government in Washington.

Japanese Militarism—It's Cause and Cure is thoughtful and scholarly. Most enlightening and valuable is its tracing of Japan's past as bearing on its future. Mr. Maki produced a book of "cause" rather than "cure," but he can be pardoned for not revealing all of the answers on what we should do with the land of his ancestors. Few, if any of us, dare be too emphatic on that score at this distant time from Japan's ultimate reduction.

The fourth book is *The Future of Japan* by William C. Johnstone. While it parallels in simpler form much of the history which Mr. Maki enlarges, Mr. Johnstone is courageous enough to blueprint definite steps for handling our Far Eastern enemy. The author is Director of the Institute of Pacific Relations' Study Program in Washington. His preface is dated two months after the Ninth Conference held by the Institute at Hot Springs last January, and although the Institute assumes no responsibility for what Mr. Johnstone writes here, at least we are entitled to presume that he does not ignore the transactions of that international conference which he attended.

All four books are in agreement that we did misunderstand the Japanese nation. This is a basic truth. It can be extended to include not only Japan but likewise our ally, China. In the past there existed no great impetus for the average American to bother much about the Orient and its peoples. Times have changed and we now face a stupendous investment in human life and billions of dollars to conquer the enemy. It behooves us to get busy and acquire a decent knowledge of Asia if we are to protect that investment.

One underlying theme of all four books disproves the defeatist fallacy that East is East and West is West and nothing can be done about it. Pearl Buck's conclusion in *The Asian Legacy* goes all-out on this line.

"There is nothing incomprehensible in the East or in the West," she says. "We are like men digging a tunnel through a mountain. We have begun at opposite ends but the goal is the same—human happiness. We ought to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meet somewhere one of these days, and find that each faces the other's light."

Contributing causes to our lack of understanding of Japan are described in different ways by the respective authors. Stephen B. L. Penrose, Jr., and Oliver J. Caldwell in *The Asian Legacy* think that we knew so little about the people of Japan partly because their leaders did not want us to understand them.

Mr. Johnstone, in *The Future of Japan,* blames our own wishful thinking for blinding us to the fact that Japan actually was hiding an autocratic, militaristic feudalism behind a thin veneer of modernism. Thus he writes: "If we are to be successful in preventing future Japanese aggression and assisting Japan eventually to become trustworthy by our standards, we must try to understand the Japanese as they are, not, as in the past, we hoped they had become."

Mr. Maki, as an American of Japanese ancestry, gives his reasons for our failure to comprehend Japan. He says: "We were thinking in about the only terms we could. We had no real understanding of the fundamental currents of Japanese society and of Japanese history. Indeed, almost all our thinking about Japan and the Japanese was hemmed within the framework of our own experience."

Even Minister van Mook, poised as he was in the East Indies on the virtual powder-keg of Japanese militarism, confesses that in 1941, while there were reasons to mistrust Japanese expansionism, still it was "a far cry to outright southward aggression."

Certainly, if the Indies Economic Director was lulled into a misplaced faith that Japanese militarism would not strike, the rest of us, more distant from the Far Eastern scene, can find solace in our own miscalculations. Minister van Mook's documented story of Japan's brazen demands of 1940-1941 reeks with international audacity.

On January 16, 1941, he tells how the second Japanese mission to the Indies disguised its plans as honest solicitation for the prosperity of the Netherlands colony. Thereupon it requested the right to send more and more Japanese to the islands; the privilege of spreading Japanese explorers all over the place to snoop out and exploit natural resources; and the extension of Japanese trade, to mention but a few of Tokyo's unilateral and offensive demands. These were little short of international brigandage.

Minister van Mook and his fellow Netherlanders knew their islands were militarily unprepared to withstand an armed Japanese invasion, but they nevertheless staged a doughty "battle on paper," as he phrases it. The Indies succumbed in 1942 only when Tokyo substituted bombs for smiling diplomats.

Supporting Minister van Mook's sad discovery of the real Japan are the concrete definitions of both Mr. Maki and Mr. Johnstone. Pearl Buck, however, speaks with a different tongue.

In her chapter, "East and West," she never once mentions Japan as she does the Indians and the Chinese, but it is a logical assumption that even by omission she does not deny Japan its place in the East. Hence she lays herself open to debate in such a generalization as this: "We of the West need to have happiness restored to us, not through a new spiritual rebirth, in the sense of a new religion, but through a plain and simple return to what makes people really happy. The East is right about it—what makes a human being happy is to feel himself wanted and understood and appreciated. The fabulous courtesy of the East is not a ritual, but simply oil to grease the machinery of human relationships."

I wonder what Minister van Mook, with his bitter experiences, would say about this. He found the visiting Japanese officials fabulously courteous, but if they desired to make anyone happy, it was Japan alone. And the only oil involved was the increased tons which Japan sought, not to grease the machinery of human happiness, but to fuel bombers and warships so as better to destroy human happiness.

I agree that there are many Japanese who might want to make other people happy, but I am afraid that they fall into the category of the "liberals" to whom Mr. Maki refers. "We completely overestimated the influence of the 'liberals' not only because we regarded them as a bulwark between us and war, but also because we thought they were representative of Japan simply for the reason that they seemed to think as we did. We failed to understand that because they were like us they were non-Japanese, and therefore almost powerless within Japan," says Mr. Maki.

Mr. Johnstone, too, has his ideas on this subject. "We overestimated Japan's progress toward popular government and the establishment of peaceful relations with other nations." He goes on to sound a warning that after we defeat Japan we still must overcome the obstacles of false impressions we received in the past, "deliberately created by the Japanese to check our opposition to their aggression."

Mr. Maki sees us fighting not only the Japanese people against whom we can win the war, but, more important than that, we are fighting a war against ideas—"the ideas which have made Japan dangerous."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is undeniable that many of us are still suffering from a misunderstanding of Japan. We center our hatred on the enemy's militarists and hope that their inevitable decimation will make everything all right. But listen again to Mr. Maki:

"Japanese militarism is not the Japanese army and navy. It is not a few generals and admirals. It is not the willingness to die for the emperor. It is not the plots of a few evil men. These are only surface manifestations. It is really a way of life and a set of attitudes held by the Japanese, not because they are born with them but because they have inherited them from centuries of Japanese historical development. Modern Japanese militarism is the product of a combination of age-old social, political, and economic factors."

Moving from the historical wealth of these four books, it is natural to glance ahead and ask what we are to do about our badly misunderstood enemy. Both Mr. Maki and Mr. Johnstone quote the Cairo Declaration of Britain, China, and America, with its promise of unconditional surrender, the crushing and punishment of Japanese militarism, and the stripping of all Japan's territorial gains.

Mr. Maki views these aims as a "demonstration to the Japanese that unsuccessful crime does not pay." He considers it a dangerous error to "associate the evil in Japan with certain persons whose elimination will almost automatically bring about the political rehabilitation of the Japanese people." Such thinking does not take into account our war against "ideas."

The broad objectives announced by the United Nations are merely a framework, according to Mr. Johnstone, and he is impatient with that bare skeleton. He believes that there are a host of decisions which must be made and which cannot await Japan's final surrender.

For instance, there is always that popular American controversy of what to do with the emperor. Mr. Johnstone notes the ban on derogatory remarks about Hirohito in all United Nations propaganda directed to Asia, and the charges that both the British Foreign Office and the American State Department prefer to retain the "emperor institution" as an element of stability.

Mr. Johnstone cites the arguments both pro and con, and thereupon advances his own novel prescription—"by-pass" the emperor. In this "by-pass" formula, the occupational authorities of the United Nations would ignore the emperor, handing power directly to local Japanese administrators who would enforce law and collect taxes without benefit of imperial ordinances or approval. By this process, Mr. Johnstone predicts the Japanese people would see that government could function without reference to the emperor, and thereby it would be easier for them to reorganize the government upon a sound democratic basis.

Not only the welfare of the Japanese, but that of the rest of the world, will be affected by what happens to the emperor, asserts Mr. Maki. He adds that the best solution would be a revolutionary wave which would end the whole imperial institution. Thus "there would be no tradition of a hated foreigner destroying the sacred institution."

Mr. Johnstone also discusses such a post-surrender revolution in Japan. And regardless of the attaching risks to the United Nations, he feels that refusal to support a popular revolution might destroy the most promising, though weak, vehicle for the ultimate elimination of both militarism and excessive nationalism.

At this point I begin to suspect that Pearl Buck might be right. Perhaps the East and West are little different. Certainly it was China's Chiang Kai-shek who first developed the idea of letting the Japanese solve their own riddle through revolution.

All our discussion of Japan's future is in the realm of pure theory and speculative searchings. Practically, we do not yet know what to do with our enemy. Therefore, we avidly grasp at the straw of doing nothing—let the Japanese take action while we sit back as spectators. China fastened on revolution-in-Japan as the easiest way out. Yet here are two American experts endorsing that very doctrine.

We are winning the war against people in Japan, but after you read these four books I am sure you will agree with me, that we have not yet won the first battle in the war against the ideas of Japan. But do not be defeatist! Day by day Asia is coming more into focus with us. And some day we will acquire the necessary know-how. Am I now being patiently Oriental? Yes, and deliberately so.

JOHN GOETTE

For twenty-one years John Goette was Far Eastern correspondent in China and Japan for the International News Service and the London Daily Express. Soon after Pearl Harbor he was made a prisoner by the Japs and was held in North China for six months until he had the good fortune to be exchanged on the "Gripsholm."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Emergency Rescue

SURRENDER ON DEMAND, by Varian Fry. Random House. 243 pages. $3.00

WHEN the Americans sponsoring the Emergency Rescue Committee entrusted Varian Fry with the task of saving the political refugees in France from the clutches of the Gestapo they made an excellence choice. By his political convictions and his sympathy for the suffering intelligentsia and peoples of Europe, Fry was eminently qualified for the job. His book, *Surrender on Demand,* which he calls "a story of an experiment in democratic solidarity" is a brilliant *exposé* of the work accomplished by him in Marseille during the tragic days that followed the French defeat.

After the armistice the atmosphere of Marseille, the maritime crossroads of the French Empire, was pregnant with human drama. The population of the city had increased to overflowing. Men and women who had opposed the tyranny of nazism and fascism from its inception and who had found refuge in peacetime France were now gravitating toward the Mediterranean harbor in the hope of escaping the German "surrender on demand" clause.

The armistice was signed to last for a period of four months. Many of the refugees believed that after that period Germany would occupy the part of France known as the unoccupied zone. Meanwhile German and Italian control commissions were quartered in every important southern French town and in every Mediterranean harbor. They were in Marseille and in the nearby Aix-en-Provence, they were in Toulon and Nice. Gestapo agents in mufti, recognizable by their strutting arrogant air, were mingling with the population in the Canebière, or elbowing the refugees killing time in the sidewalk cafés.

The only thought obsessing the refugees was to get out of Marseille before it was too late. But the question was how to do it. Many were without passports, or without visas and most of them without sufficient means. The few fortunate ones who had U. S. or other overseas visas were unable to depart. The collaborationist Vichy Minister of Interior, Adrien Marquet, anxious not to displease the German conquerors, refused to allow them to leave France.

In order to control the influx of foreigners, the Marseille police began to organize mass arrests in the streets and in the cafés, sending those who were without the obligatory *permis de séjour,* to the ill-famed concentration camps of St. Cyprien, Vernet or Gurs. During the retreat before the advancing German hordes few were able to put their papers *en règle* with the police. Their situation now seemed hopeless and desperate.

Czech Consul Aids Fry

WHEN Varian Fry arrived in Marseille in August 1940 he had no idea how to begin his rescue work. His only equipment consisted of a few letters of introduction, a few thousand dollars and a determined will to help. Yet, in a few days he managed to send the first German and Austrian refugees into safety across Spain thanks to Czechoslovak Consul Dr. Vladimír Vochoč, who, at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the Vichy authorities as well as of his own Government consented to provide Fry's protegés with provisional passports. The passports were issued on the strength of their application for Czechoslovak citizenship based on actual parentage and extraction.

When the Czechoslovak passports became useless another source had to be found. But Fry and his associates were up to the task and the underground struggle against the Gestapo, the Vichy authorities, the callousness of Marseille police, the frequent closing of the Spanish frontier, the Spanish Government's subservience to the Germans, and the constantly changing Portuguese visa regulations which made false passports useless. They also had to fight against the cupidity of people who sought to make capital out of the misery of the refugees, and against time and confusion which continued with an ever growing tempo and determination.

Fry's book contains some remarkable chapters illustrating the political atmosphere of Marseille and of unoccupied France during that period, as for example, the chapters describing the extradition of German ex-Minister Hilferding and Social Democrat Breitscheid, or Fry's arrest and detention on the SS. Sinaïa during Pétain's visit to Marseille. The book is packed with human interest. His description of the people he tried to save, such as Hilferding and Breitscheid, or the anti-fascist Modigliani, the writers Walter Mehring, Franz Werfel, Georg Bernhard and others is extremely vivid and interesting. Other fascinating accounts describe his associates and friends, the various American and foreign officials, the fraudulent skippers who did not hesitate to disappear with the money destined to save the unfortunate people, the Marseille gangsters with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROSPERITY CAN BE PERMANENT!

Peace, as well as war, CAN produce

60 MILLION JOBS

Depressions are NOT Inevitable!

Henry A. Wallace believes that total employment IS possible. He not only believes this, but has THE PLAN to bring it about. So grandly simple are the details, so urgent that you know them NOW, that you owe it to your future to read —

AN UNCOMMON MAN: Henry Wallace and 60 MILLION JOBS by DR. FRANK KINGDON

- The America we have. What do we want? How can we get it?
- "The world's highest standard of living"
- 7 steps to 60 Million Jobs through world trade
- 60 Million Jobs and Discrimination
- Patents: For Monopoly or Progress?
- Super Social Security
- Two Worlds: Men vs. Dollars
- How to Tame a Cartel
- Henry Wallace: Paradox

Here is the first book to explain Henry A. Wallace's hotly debated plan for 60 million jobs and permanent prosperity. It breaks down into tangible facts and figures the means by which the 60 million jobs can be established and made secure, points out the obstacles that must (and can) be removed.

Here, too, is THE book about America's stormy petrel, the most controversial, most hailed-and-damned figure of the decade. Read AN UNCOMMON MAN and you will, perhaps for the first time, know the truth about the famous Wallace-Jones feud, the ganging up of the Southern senators against Wallace, the strange events that kept him from re-nomination as Vice-President.

For a fascinating size-up of Henry A. Wallace and his plan for 60 Million Jobs, read Frank Kingdon's plain-spoken, timely book: AN UNCOMMON MAN.

Regular Edition, $1
DeLuxe Cloth Edition, $2

THE READER'S PRESS, Inc.
220 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Please send me a copy of AN UNCOMMON MAN, by Frank Kingdon, in the

☐ *Regular Edition, @ $1*
☐ *DeLuxe Cloth Edition, @ $2*

I enclose $..... in payment.

Name.....

Address.....

City, State.....

whom Fry had to deal, and the indifference of Vichy where he went in a vain attempt to save some of the refugees from the misery of concentration camps.

As an on-the-spot witness, I do not hesitate to say that *Surrender on Demand* is a unique contribution to the underground history of the war. Varian Fry's conviction that "if democracy is to endure at all it would have to become internationally minded," has been successfully tested in Marseille and the people Fry helped save are a living proof that his theory works.

JOSEF FORMAN

Josef Forman is now an official of the Czechoslovak Information Service in New York. Previous to this he was on the staff of the Marseille Czechoslovak Consulate which ran the underground railway between France, Portugal and North Africa.

• • •

LABOR AND TOMORROW'S WORLD, by G. Bromley Oxnam. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 153 pages. $1.50

THIS BOOK is the work of a profoundly religious man who asks his readers: "How long shall we preach that selfishness is sin and affirm that self-interest is a fundamental and driving force of economic life? Have we not passed sufficient resolutions in General Conference and, after our condemnation, returned home to do nothing about it?"

The selfishness that Bishop Oxnam condemns —and asks his fellow-believers to do something about—he finds in the brutal history of labor exploitation in the past and today, detailing the role that his church has played in the early history of the labor movement in this country and in England.

Throughout the book, Bishop Oxnam makes a plea for full and fair recognition of the right and duty to bargain collectively. He argues for an objective approach to issues that many non-trade unionists find disturbing—the union shop, for example, or the question of union finances. Discussing the union shop, he writes:

"The attack (on the union shop) comes largely from those who have never been particularly interested in the worker's freedom. . . . The union calls for a union shop because union and non-union workers do not work well alongside each other over a long period of time. Again, the union shop expresses the democratic principle of majority rule."

C. W. FOWLER

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lerner Looks at Life

PUBLIC JOURNAL: Marginal Notes on Wartime America, by Max Lerner. Viking. 414 *pages.* $3.00

IN this book Max Lerner has brought together and republished integrally, except for minor textual changes, about 100 of the columns he wrote for *PM* in the period between February, 1943 and November, 1944. They cover an extraordinarily wide range of subjects —the war, civil liberties, hepcats, the election of 1944, Ernest Hemingway, Lepke Buchalter, Sewell Avery, the Teheran conference, the Kharkov trials, movies, books and what this country must do to avoid another depression. Together they throw a revealing light on the headlines of a singularly tumultuous period. Of course, they are uneven in value. It would be surprising if they were not. For while these columns were chosen in part because of "their viability if read ten years from now" the events that some of them deal with have already become obscure and the individuals they mention even more so. The reader of 1955 chancing on this book will need the help of many more footnotes than the author has provided.

Yet to an amazing degree these republished columns have kept their original freshness and sparkle. This is not only because Lerner writes extremely well but also, though they deal with the rapidly changing scene, they do so from the viewpoint of unchanging fundamentals. He is acutely aware, for instance, that fascism did not begin with Mussolini or Hitler, nor did it end on V-E Day. The struggle is universal and must be continuous.

"I am dismayed to find," he wrote on December 1, 1943, "that twenty years after Mussolini and ten years after Hitler's seizure of power many Americans still do not know what fascism is." And no one has been quicker than he in spotting fascist manifestations.

Lerner knows what he doesn't like, which is the first essential of a good columnist. He doesn't like Martin Dies, Sewell Avery, Westbrook Pegler, Bill Bullitt, the Luce Publications, Thomas E. Dewey, the *Reader's Digest* and fascists of any shape or variety. But he also knows what he likes. He likes New York, railroad trips, newspapermen, the Bill of Rights, Thomas Jefferson, Marshal Tito and the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. His concepts are global

WOODROW WILSON *and the Great Betrayal*

By THOMAS A. BAILEY

The dramatic story of Wilson's fight for American approval of Versailles and the League of Nations is fraught with implications for today. Here the author of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* gives a searching appraisal of the many political, national, and economic forces which brought about the great betrayal of our pledges to Europe. To read this book is to be forearmed. $3.50

BACKGROUNDS *of Conflict*

By KURT LONDON

The battle of the isms will continue long after the last shot of the war is fired. Here is ammunition—a thorough analysis of the ideologies of fascism, communism, and democracy, and a description of how they have worked out in various countries where they have been put into practice. $5.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY

By
LEWIS MUMFORD

JOSEPH HUDNUT: "A distillation of the high purpose which has informed a lifetime of writing . . . it spans the totality of the author's thought; of that thought which quickened the conscience of his time . . . Here we discover with him the chaos and inhumanity of our cities, share his angry protest against their iniquities, and know the aristocratic and generous spirit which sought to overcome these with new patterns of justice and order." —*N. Y. Herald Tribune*

"A sheaf of essays by the most distinguished American city planner of our time . . . Informed, thought-provoking, authoritative."— *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* $2.00

CITY DEVELOPMENT

By
STUART CHASE

ORDWAY TEAD: "Stuart Chase presents in the best tradition of creative journalism, the findings and experience in significant areas of business personnel and economic pioneering . . . No manager—of factory, store, philanthropic agency, hospital or college—could fail to carry away a score of workable ideas from this notebook record of social experiments."—*Survey Graphic*

JAMES RORTY: "A really excellent job . . . Chase understands better than any other American journalist I know the importance of studying and improving the actual texture of American life; of getting down to cases and saying what works and why." $2.00

Men at Work

and his sympathies wide. Aware, as so many of his columns reveal, of the dangers that threaten American democracy he is optimistic about America's future. "We move toward tomorrow," he writes, "with the conviction that all the energy and abundance and geniality of our vast continent is best expressed in the quality of the life the ordinary American can live." America for him remains a land of promise.

In one of his pieces he points out that journalists sometimes suffer from the occupational disease of looking too closely at the daily event. "They don't see the landscape because they are so intent on focusing a microscope at the shrub." From that disease Lerner is free, and *Public Journal* is the proof.

BARNET NOVER

Barnet Nover is an associate editor of the Washington Post and writes a tri-weekly syndicated column on international affairs.

NAVY, MARINE & COAST GUARD

personnel on duty overseas may receive new and renewal subscriptions to FREE WORLD only upon written request from the serviceman himself.

THIS POSTAL RULING BECOMES EFFECTIVE JULY 1

All gift subscriptions, both new and renewal, MUST be accompanied by written request from serviceman.

Subscriptions current July 1 will be mailed until expiration date.

FREE WORLD
144 Bleecker St., New York 12, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Schiaparelli

new york paris

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Comes After San Francisco?

That is for you—and all the rest of the free and peace-loving peoples of the world to determine. You have an obligation to be vigilant—to see to it that the Charter for a free world written at San Francisco becomes the starting point toward that better life of international peace and security for which millions of men of many nationalities have died in our time. Let

FREE WORLD

keep you informed, help you discover the true and the false, so that your judgments can be a force in the important days ahead.

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription for FREE WORLD Magazine

..... 1 year at $4.00 **..... 2 years at $7.00**

..... Payment enclosed **..... Bill me**

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Canadian and Foreign postage $1.00 a year additional

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MORE BONDS

FEWER BATTLES

BACK THE ATTACK • BUY WAR BONDS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Evening in Paris

The Fragrance of Romance

Perfume
Eau de Cologne
Face Powder
Talcum
Lipstick
Rouge

Created by

BOURJOIS
NEW YORK

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED